

Library of The Theological Seminary

PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY



PURCHASED BY THE
MRS. ROBERT LENOX KENNEDY
CHURCH HISTORY FUND

BR 756 .C58 v.7:1

The church historians of
England

THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

R. CLAY, SON, AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS, LONDON.

✓
THE CHURCH HISTORIANS
OF ENGLAND.

REFORMATION PERIOD.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF
✓
JOHN FOXE.

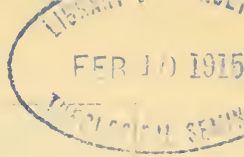
CAREFULLY REVISED, WITH NOTES
AND APPENDICES.

VOL. VII.—PART I.

Geeleys,

HANOVER STREET, HANOVER SQUARE.

MDCCCLXI.

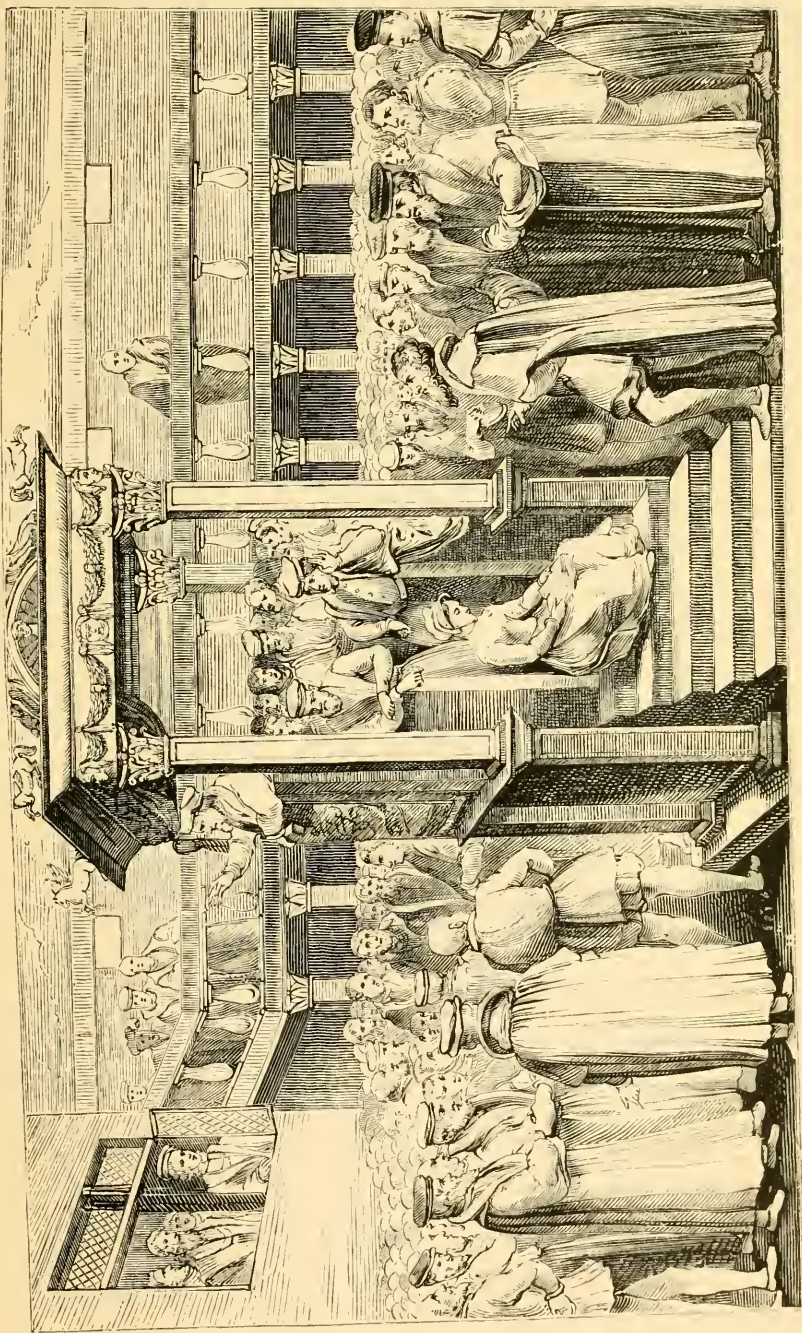




THE BURNING OF MASTER JOHN BRADFORD AND JOHN LEAF.



PRISONERS IN BONDS FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE TRUTH, CONFERRING TOGETHER AMONG THEMSELVES.



MASTER LATIMER PREACHING BEFORE KING EDWARD, IN THE PREACHING PLACE AT WESTMINSTER.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. VII.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK XI;¹

WHEREIN

IS DISCOURSED THE BLOODY MURDERING OF GOD'S SAINTS,
WITH THE PARTICULAR PROCESSES AND NAMES
OF SUCH GOOD MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND
WOMEN, AS, IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN
MARY, WERE PUT TO DEATH.

The History of Dr. Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's in Wales, *Mary.*

WHO MOST CONSTANTLY GAVE HIS LIFE FOR THE TESTIMONY
OF THE TRUTH, MARCH 30TH, A.D. 1555. *A. D. 1555.*

THE day after Laurence's death, which was the 30th of the month of March, followed the worthy and constant martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called Robert Ferrar, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of christian martyrs, that suffered after master Hooper. This aforesaid Ferrar, by the favour and good will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of queen Mary, unto the shedding of his blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in king Edward's time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies, after the fall of the duke of Somerset. Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid against him, to the number of fifty-six, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous canons of the church of Caermarthen, and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty adversaries, and what were their names, in their articles against him in order here followeth.

Fifty-six
articles
against
Ferrar in
king
Edward's
time.
*See
Appendix.*

(1) See Edition 1559, p. 423. Ed. 1563, p. 1084. Ed. 1570, p. 1721. Ed. 1576, p. 1470. Ed. 1583, p. 1544. Ed. 1597, p. 1403. Ed. 1684, vol. lii. p. 165.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix*THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES AGAINST BISHOP FERRAR.¹

George Constantine ; David Walter his servant ; Thomas Young,² chanter of the cathedral church, who was afterward archbishop of York ; Rowland Meyrike doctor of law, who was afterward bishop of Bangor ; Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, etc.

Through the procurement and instance of these his adversaries, joining and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins priest, and Thomas Lee, brother-in-law to the said George Constantine, did exhibit to the king's most honourable council certain articles and informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blemish the bishop's credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his bishopric, and to bring him in a præmunire. The copy of which articles we thought here good to express, and so after them to set his answers to the same.

Articles and Informations to the King's Honourable Council, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee, against the blessed man of God, Master Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's.

Abuse of the Authority to him committed.

Imprimis, When the said bishop first came to his diocese, he appointed his chancellor by his letters of commission, omitting the king's majesty's style and authority, and grounding his said commission upon foreign usurped laws and authority ; by force of which authority his said chancellor did visit certain deaneries of his said diocese, and monished the chanter and chapter of the cathedral church of St. David's aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the king's highness's laws and statutes, and in derogation of his highness's supremacy.

II. Item, That the said chanter and chapter, perceiving the faults of the said commission, took the same from the registry into their custody, refusing to appear by virtue thereof, and, by secret and charitable ways and means, did admonish the said bishop of the unlawfulness and faults of the said commission, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the same ; opening also unto him the effect of the statute made in the twenty-eighth year of our late sovereign lord Henry the Eighth. Which monitions notwithstanding, the said bishop neglecting the same, and continuing in his malicious doing or inexcusable ignorance, about the 20th day of August, in the fourth year of the reign of our sovereign lord that now is, did confer unto one John Evans the vicarage of Pen Brynn, instituting him by authority of the old foreign usurped law, making no mention of the king's highness's authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

III. Item, Whereas the chancellor and vicar-general to the said bishop, did, upon a lawful title, and by the king's highness's supreme authority, admit and institute one John Gough into the rectory of Haysguard with the appurtenances, and gave out in the king's name under his highness's seal ecclesiastical appointed for that office, with the "teste" of the said bishop, and subscription of the said chancellor, a mandate to induct accordingly ; by virtue whereof the said John Gough was inducted by the official there, into the real possession of the same rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging ; whereupon the registrar of the said diocese, at the request of the foresaid chancellor, did signify the premises, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed bishop : who, notwithstanding, did institute and cause to be inducted one Harry Goddard unto the same parsonage, making no mention of the king's majesty's authority or supremacy ; in contempt and derogation of the same his highness's crown and dignity, and in extolling the foreign usurped authority, contrary to the form of the statute, etc.

(1) See the Harleian MSS. Number 420, art. 17—27.—Ed.

(2) Son-in-law to Constantine.

IV. Item, The said bishop, immediately after the unlawful institution and induction of Goddard aforesaid, molested the said John Gough, lawfully instituted and inducted as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long season, till at length he articulated. Among which articles was contained, "Item, interrogatur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haysguard:" so taking upon him the cognition of the title of the whole fruits and patronage, in contempt of the king's highness's regal crown and dignity, and in derogation of the laws and statutes of this realm.

V. Item, He hath commonly made his collations and institutions, as he did his first commission, in his own name and authority, without expressing the king's supremacy.

VI. Item, He made under his seal one collation, two institutions, and three mandates to induct, in one vacation of one benefice, three several persons, without order of law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like authority, title, and right. Whereby, except good foresight, as well of justices of the peace as of the friends, had not been, there had ensued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the intitled incumbents in that behalf.

VII. Item, The said bishop, decreeing "caveats" to be made in benefices, thereby knowing the titles litigious, instituteth and causeth to be inducted without trial of any title or due order of law.

VIII. Item, He directeth his mandates of induction unto private men, and not to the archdeacons nor their officials; contrary to the law and custom used in that behalf: notwithstanding he hath been counselled to the contrary, of men that be learned.

IX. Item, Having no manner of knowledge or practice in the law, he sitteth every day in harvest, and other times, upon causes, without assistance of learned in the law, having with him only an unlearned boy, which is no notary, to his scribe; neither observing the law, nor yet reasonable order. And therefore doth no good, but triflith the time, as may appear by his acts, if he have them to be showed.

X. Item, He, and his officers by his knowledge, useth to dispense with marriages, to be solemnized without banns; contrary to the laws and ordinance in that behalf.

XI. Item, Whereas one Thomas Prichard, a chaplain of his, solemnized matrimony in a private house without banns, and that betwixt a priest, and a sister of her that was appointed to be married with the said priest that day (he also being a parson, and leaving his cure unserved that day, being Sunday) notwithstanding that one of the king's council in the Marches of Wales informed the said bishop of the same misdemeanours, requiring due reformation thereof, he hath done nothing therein but put the same chaplain in office, and made him his commissary-general since that time, bearing a special favour to the rest of the offenders.

XII. Item, Whereas one Meredith ap Thomas, his household servant, was accused of one Sage Hughes, to have been father of her child; the said bishop, without purgation of his servant, caused him to sue the parents of the said Sage of infancy, first in his principal consistory, and from thence before a commissary of his, being his household chaplain, and at the last took the matter before himself, so railing against all his officers, because they proceeded not after his partial affection, and against the law, that honest men of Caermarthen, where he then sat upon the cause, judged him to be, or at the least to have been, distract of his wit, and by this partial handling, the cause remaineth unfinished, and the child without father.

XIII. Item, Whereas one Jenkin Ph*** accused William Chambers, a servant of the bishop's that found this William in adulterous manner with his wife, by reason whereof the bishop expelled the wife out of his house, the said infancy not purged, the parties have been both again in the bishop's house and service since that time, to the evil example of others.

XIV. Item, By his unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the benefices of Llangattwg, and Llanfilhangel, by the indiscreet handling of the same, there were raised the number of four hundred people or more, which bickered sundry times together, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabout, had it not been pacified by the discreet means of sir Roger Vaughan, knight.

XV. Item, By his like unlawful collation of the prebend of Llan Bister to one Stephen Greene, a chaplain of his, by covenant and promise to maintain the

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

*See
Appendix*

Mary. suit, by whose crafty and indiscreet handling of the same, there was raised in the county of Radnor, the 19th day of August last past, about three or four hundred men, to like danger, but that the matter was stayed by John Bradshaw, Rice ap Glin, and Stephen ap Rice, justices of the same county; who, with great danger to themselves and theirs, pacified the matter, committing a hundred of the offenders to ward.

A. D.
1555.

XVI. Item, Such as he oweth displeasure unto, he citeth from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter against them; and being divers times required the copy of his proceedings against them, to the intent they might answer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all such persons the copies of his proceedings.

XVII. Item, He and his officers wink at the manifest and open crimes of his fautors and adherents, to the evil example of the whole diocese, and abuse the censures of excommunication and suspension, making it an instrument of revenging, against such as they do not favour.

XVIII. Item, Having received payment of the king's majesty's subsidy, due in October, the fourth year of his grace's reign, of the aforesaid chanter of the cathedral church of St. David's, and Rowland Meyrike, two of the residentiaries there, before Christmas last, he, unjustly, of a prepensed mind and purpose, afterward certified them for recusants; to their undoing, if they had not been admonished of his cruel purpose, and provided lawful defence for the same.

XIX. Item, The said bishop, celebrating matrimony in his own person, dispensed, contrary to the book of ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy communion; the parties both being young and lusty persons, having no reasonable cause wherefore they should abstain. At which celebration the bishop communicated not himself; and further, the communion was celebrated by a chaplain of his, with superstitious blowings, kneelings, and knockings, both of the chaplain that ministered, and of all the company, only one other priest communicating for the manner.

Maintenance of Superstition contrary to the King's Ordinance and Injunctions.

XX. Item, Whereas the official of the archdeacon of Caermarthen, in his visitation within Caermarthen, found, contrary unto the said ordinance, an altar set up in the body of the church, for celebration of the communion, and caused the said altar to be taken away, and a table to be set in the middle of the church; the bishop, after the same, commanded the vicar of Caermarthen to set the table without the chancel again, for the ministration of the communion.

XXI. Item, He, being often in Caermarthen and other places, in the chancel, at the time of holy communion, not only tarried there himself, neither communicating nor ministering, bareheaded and uncoiffed, reverently kneeling; but also permitteth the people there to continue, the chancel and choir full, kneeling and knocking their breasts: which manner is yet used in all the diocese, without any reformation or gainsay of him or any of his officers.

XXII. Item, Whereas superstitious praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the king's majesty's Injunctions; the said bishop, meeting many with beads in their hands, never rebuked any of them.

XXIII. Item, The said bishop, being in the pulpit, and seeing corpses there within the church, with a great number of lights upon them, never spake against any of them.

XXIV. Item, Whereas the ordinance willeth, that no children be baptized but upon the Sunday or holy day (only cause of necessity excepted), he, having two children himself born without danger, caused one of them to be baptized on the work-day; and, by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is used, as it hath been customed, in all the diocese commonly, contrary unto the book of ordinance in that behalf.

Covetousness.

XXV. Item, From his first coming into the diocese, he hath had, and yet hath, his only study, labour, and practice, to survey land, and to look for mines, etc.; neglecting his own bounden duty to apply his book and preaching.

XXVI. Item, He keepeth no manner hospitality, but hath his servants'

table in one parlour with him, lest any stranger should approach his servants, being at their meat.

Mary.

XXVII. Item, He is commonly talking, not of any godliness, but of worldly matters; as baking, brewing, enclosing, ploughing, mining, of mill-stones, discharging of tenants, and such like, not only at his table, but also most commonly at other places.

A.D.
1555.

XXVIII. Item, He hath warned divers tenants out of their lands, which they and their elders have enjoyed for their rents these hundred years and more, and occupied with tillage; which, he saith, he will enclose; and being sued to of poor men because of quietness, he answered, "The crows shall eat the corn, rather than ye shall have any profit thereof."

XXIX. Item, When the vicars choral of St. David's, for relief of their hospitality, had an island of his called the Bishop's Isle, for forty shillings rent; he hath set it to a chaplain of his for five pound by year. And whereas, at the suit of the said vicars, it was granted by the bishop, in the whole chapter, that the vicars should have it for [certain] years at forty shillings rent, and pay twenty pounds entry; he now, covetously, and against his promise openly made, denieth the same, except the vicars would give fifty pounds.

XXX. Item, He caused the curate of St. David's to warn their tenants out of their said lands, in the pulpit, to the great offence of the people, which were wont to have God's word preached there; and so they said to the curate at that time.

XXXI. Item, To the ploughing of a pasture not above ten days' work, in Lent, anno 1549, he had thirty-two ploughs in one day; and those ploughs the priest bade in the church, contrary to the statute of Gomortha¹ in that behalf provided, and to the evil example of gentlemen in that country.

XXXII. Item, Whereas the king's majesty of godly remembrance, Henry the Eighth, appointed at Brecknock a schoolmaster, usher, reader of divinity, a minister, and certain scholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed sixty and twelve pounds of the pensions and revenues of Brecknock; the bishop, finding it so furnished, hath neither reader nor minister there, covetously converting their stipends to his own use.

XXXIII. Item, The bishop was twice in one day presented in the great court, holden in the town of Caermarthen, for enclosing and covetous encroaching of the king's highway.

XXXIV. Item, He covetously occupieth purchasing of lands, buying of cattle, merchandise, and other things; being indebted a notable sum to the king's majesty, as may by his accounts in the court of Tenths and First Fruits appear.

XXXV. Item, Whereas one Lewis John Thomas Boole, putting from him his lawful wedded wife, upon Christmas Even last past, without banns had marriage solemnized with a concubine of his, in a church within three miles of the bishop's abode at that time; the bishop, since knowing the premises, hath not only, of a covetous mind, entered familiarity with the said Lewis, and bought a piece of land of him, but also ever since hath (to have his lands good cheap) left both the parties and priest unpunished; using him so familiarly, that whereas a sumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the same fact, the bishop commanded the said sumner to let him alone; and so they all remain unpunished.

XXXVI. Item, Whereas the whole chapter of St. David's (as it was thought) was in assured amity with the bishop, they all being his officers or chaplains, he procured them to be impeached with a writ of "Quo warranto" in the King's Bench, keeping the writ with him secretly, at the least three months; not delivering it, but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being seven days' journey distant from London.

XXXVII. Item, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lawful possessions; stirring thereby much contention, and so notably known, to the offence of the country.

Wilful Negligence.

XXXVIII. Item, Whereas the bishop aforesaid was appointed in August, anno 1547, and consecrated in September following, he never came into the diocese himself, nor sent or appointed any officer there before the month of

(1) "Gomortha" or Comorth, see Appendix.—Ed.

Mary. April, anno 1548; to the great disorder of the king's majesty's subjects, lack of reformation, and ministration of justice.

A.D. XXXIX. Item, During his visitation, the said bishop did not endeavour himself to see reformation, but rode surveying of lands, appointing vain inclosures, and such other things; which are no part of the office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

1555. XL. Item, The visitation finished, he neither appointed his officers to examine the clergy of the places of Scripture to them appointed to be studied in the same visitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinances of this realm.

XLI. Item, The bishop, since his coming to the diocese, never ministered the communion, saving only at two times, that he ordered certain deacons; but in every thing (but that he otherwhiles preacheth excepted) ordereth himself like no minister, nor man of his vocation.

XLII. Item, He hath so alienated himself from study, that he preacheth indiscreetly, discrediting the office; not only untruly reporting the Scriptures, but also, preaching the ten commandments, in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of stuff, the pith of his matter was matrimony of priests.

XLIII. Item, The 13th day of September last, he ordained certain deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bound to forgive, but him that asketh forgiveness; and being admonished friendly by a letter better to declare the same, because that divers were offended with that doctrine, he hath hitherto deferred so to do, to the maintenance of malicious hearts in these parts.

XLIV. Item, Since the first day of August, anno 1549, unto the feast of Candlemas last, he hath preached but two or three sermons, of which one was preached at Aber Gwili, upon St. Stephen's day last, to a great audience that understood no English, being but a mile from Caermarthen, an English town, and the chief of his diocese.

XLV. Item, Since his ordinary visitation, which was finished in July, anno 1548, he hath neither preached, nor caused to be preached in the towns of Tenby, Pembroke, nor Haverford, being English towns, not much distant from the place of his most continuance.

XLVI. Item, The churches appropriate to the bishop have no Paraphrases in English, and few of them Bibles.

XLVII. Item, The churches of the diocese for the most part, and the clergy almost every one, lack Paraphrases, notwithstanding there have been, these two years, and yet be, a great number of them to be sold in the diocese.

Folly.

XLVIII. Item, To declare his folly in riding: he useth bridle with white studs and snaffle, white Scottish stirrups, white spurs, a Scottish pad with a little staff of three quarters long, which he hath not only used superstitiously these four or five years, but in communication oftentimes boasted, what countries he hath compassed and measured with the same staff.

XLIX. Item, He hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he saith, it is comely, wearing of a hat, and so cometh in his long gown and hat, both into the cathedral church, and to the best town of his diocese, sitting in that sort in the king's great sessions, and in his consistory; making himself a mock to the people.

L. Item, He said that he would go to the parliament on foot: and to his friends that dissuaded him, alleging that it is not meet for a man in his place, he answered, "I care not for that, it is no sin."

LI. Item, Having a son, he went before the midwife to the church, presenting the child to the priest, and giving his name Samuel, with a solemn interpretation of the name; appointing also two godfathers and two godmothers, contrary to the ordinance: making his son a monster, and himself a laughing-stock throughout all the country.

LII. Item, He daily useth whistling of his child; and saith that he understood his whistle, when he was but three days old. And being advertised of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he answered, "They whistle their horses and dogs, and I am contented; they might also be contented that I

whistle my child:" and so whistleth him daily, all friendly admonition neglected. *Mary.*

LIII. Item, In his ordinary visitation, among other his surveys he surveyed Milford Haven, where he espied a seal-fish tumbling. And he crept down the rocks to the water-side, and continued there whistling by the space of an hour, persuading the company that laughed fast at him, that by his whistling he made the fish to tarry there. A. D.
1555.

LIV. Item, Speaking of scarcity of herrings, he laid the fault to the covetousness of fishers, who in time of plenty took so many, that they destroyed the breeders.

LV. Item, Speaking of the alteration of the coin, he wished that what metal soever it were made of, the penny should be in weight worth a penny of the same metal.

LVI. For a conclusion, the said bishop in all his doings since he came to his diocese, hath behaved himself most unmeet for a man of his vocation, being for a minister of justice, an abuser of the authority to him committed; for a teacher of the truth, and reformer of superstition, a maintainer of superstition without any doctrine of reformation; for a liberal and hospitable, an unsatiable covetous man; for a diligent overseer, wilful and negligent; for an example of godly wisdom, given wholly to folly; for merciful, a cruel revenger: and further, for a peacemaker, a sower of discord. And so, in all his behaviour, a discrediter and slanderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men that had hope that he should do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his diocese, nor hath belonging unto him, any learned preacher. But such learned preachers as he found in the diocese at his entry he so vexeth and disquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching, for the defence of their livings, against his quarrelous inventions and unjust certificates.

After these wrangling articles and informations were given up, then was the bishop called for to answer; the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. Wotton and sir John Mason, knight, who likewise received the bishop's answers to the foresaid articles, the copy and effect of which answers hereafter follow. Wotton
and Ma-
son com-
mission-
ers.

The Answer of Robert, Bishop of St. David's, to the Articles ministered unto him.

To the first article he saith, that after lawful monition in the king's majesty's name and authority, from the said bishop (being then at London), given to the chanter and chapter of St. David's, for visitation at a certain day there to be entered; the said bishop himself, for such purpose coming into the diocese, knowing also that the chanter, and one of the canons of that church, and, late before, commissaries in that diocese, had not only by their own evil example and winking at the faults of others, or neglecting to correct the same, left there, among priests and others, much detestable whoredom; but had also spoiled the cathedral-church of crosses, chalices, and censers, with other plate, jewels, and ornaments of the church, to the value of five hundred marks or more, for their own private lucre (the church remaining even yet very vile and in great decay); and had also made further under their chapter-seal many blanks, to the number of twelve or more, sede vacante, without the king's license or knowledge: therefore he brought with him one Edmund Farlee, bachelor of law, by Dr. Tonge and Dr. Nevison to him commended, as a man sufficient in faithful truth and learning, to be his chancellor; to whom he granted and sealed a commission for that purpose, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draft and form thereof: but the king's majesty's style of supremacy was fully set forth in the same commission. Whether there were any default of formal words in setting forth of the king's authority therein, he is not certain; for he committed the doing thereof to his chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the bishop saith, that he did never ground the commission upon any foreign usurped laws or authority; neither did his said chancellor, by force of such authority, visit any deanery of the said diocese, nor give any monition to the chanter and chapter there, by force of that commission, for any like intent. The first
article.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

or purpose; but only offered, in the king's majesty's name and authority (to the said bishop committed), to enter visitation of the chanter and chapter of the cathedral-church, at another day to be executed by the bishop himself, for reformation of the chapter-church and ministers there, according to the king's gracious ordinances and injunctions in that behalf. But the aforesaid chanter and canon of the church, before the sight of any commission, stubbornly answered the said chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to visit them, except he were one of their chapter. And further, desiring to see his commission, he delivered the same into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And so it may appear that he did nothing by force of that commission.

Second
article.

To the IInd article he saith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheless he, not knowing any default in the said commission, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of preaching, and visiting the whole diocese in his own person, by the king's majesty's authority, for the conservation of God's peace and the king's, in that dangerous time of rebellion, then beginning to arise in other places, did neglect and lay apart the stubborn behaviour and ungodly doings of the said chanter and canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contempts and reproaches toward him and his said chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done; fearing else that, through their unquietness, some tumult might have risen among the people there; and did also make the said chanter his chancellor, and canon his commissary, according to their ambitious desires, to appease their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he saith, that he made collation to sir John Evans of the vicarage of Pembrin (what day or time he remembereth not), not by any old foreign usurped authority, but by the king's authority only, making full mention of the king's style and authority in the same collation.

Third and
fourth.

To the IIIrd and IVth he saith, that whereas he had granted to George Constantine the office of a registrar, who brought unto him a commission for the chancellorship, to be sealed and delivered to the foresaid chanter of St. David's, desiring the said bishop to seal it, he utterly refused so to do, because the said George had put therein a clause of admitting clerks into benefices: the which authority the said bishop would not in any wise grant, reserving the examination and admission of clerks only to himself, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the said George, and the chanter, promised the said bishop by their faith and truth, before three or four honest witnesses, not to execute that clause of institution into benefices, but only to those clerks whom the bishop did first examine and admit, and send unto them to be instituted and inducted; upon which promise the bishop sealed the said commission. And after that time, the parsonage of Haysguard being void, and, by the reason of lapse, devolving to the bishop's gift for that time, he conferred it to one sir Henry Goddard, with a collation of institution by the king's authority, not extolling any foreign usurped authority. In the which collation or institution is fully mentioned the renunciation of the bishop of Rome, and all foreign powers and authority, with the full style of his majesty's supremacy. And this collation of the church of Haysguard he gave, before he understood or knew that his chancellor had given out the like; and he surely thinketh his collation was the first. That notwithstanding the said George Constantine, and the said chanter, having a vowson determined by reason of lapse, admitted and instituted one John Gough, to the said parsonage of Haysguard, by virtue of their expired vowson, and sealed his institution with a wrong seal (because they had not the right seal of office to that purpose), contrary to their former earnest promise and the bishop's right, and without any manner of warning or foreknowledge thereof to him given; which thing by them untruly done, the said George Constantine nevertheless came to the said bishop's house and there did write with his own hand the letters of induction for the said sir Henry Goddard priest, comprising in the same the whole sum of the institution or collation which the said bishop had made; and the same George did seal the said letters of induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the chanter's former wrong doings, but so departed for that time. And afterward he came again, and showed the bishop what they had done before, concerning the parsonage aforesaid. And further, the said defendant saith, that he did not molest the said John Gough, but lawfully did call him in

the king's majesty's name, not for any title of patronage, but to know whether he were parson of Haysguard, and how he was thereto admitted and instituted and inducted, and by what authority he presumed to preach there without the king's majesty's license; with other like lawful demands: whereunto he sturdily refused to give answer; and saith, that the article contained in his accusation, saying thus: "Item interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haysguard," was not ministered unto the party in that sort, so far as he knoweth, but in these words or like, "Quomodo intravit in rectoriam," etc.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

To the Vth he saith, that albeit George Constantine the registrar, did wilfully withdraw his bounden service due to the king's highness and to the said defendant in the king's name, refusing to attend either by himself, or his sufficient deputy, for writing of records and other instruments, yet the said defendant made his collations and institutions in his own name, not by his own authority, nor by any others, save only the king's authority; according as he hath declared in his answer to the first article; expressing in them the king's supremacy with the bishop's own name and seal of office, as he ought to do, according to the provision of the king's statute in such a case.

Fifth article.

To the VIth he saith, that the vicarage of Pen Brynn being void, he, as right patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans clerk, with letters of institution and induction; and after, when the king's presentation came to him for one David Jenkin, clerk, he desired fourteen days' respite at that time, either to show ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the law, or else if he showed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk; which condition was, by sir Thomas Jones knight, Dr. Meyrike, and the said David Jenkin, received, and an institution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of sir Thomas Jones knight, for safe custody of the king's clerk's behoof, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the said defendant, if he failed to show. Within which time the said defendant did show an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the said defendant's behalf; and so that institution and induction was never by the said defendant put in execution. Nevertheless, the said David Jenkin (contrary to his promise and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to the said sir Thomas Jones knight) took advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said defendant. After which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the said defendant, advertised him to admit one John ap Powell clerk, presented by virtue of a vowson which the lord chancellor judged to be good; and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former presentation, whereby he would not abate the other man's right. And so this defendant made one collation, two institutions, and three mandates, doing no wrong thereby, to his knowledge. And further he saith, that there was no business nor unquietness about the possession of the said vicarage; but this defendant, giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

Sixth.

To the VIIth he saith, that as he now remembereth, he never decreed any caveats to be made in benefices, neither did institute or cause to be inducted any into benefices, being known to him litigious.

Seventh.

To the VIIIth he saith, that because the archdeacons be absent from their offices, and have not had faithful diligent officials, he hath directed his mandates to them or their officials, or to other lawful persons in that behalf, so far as he knoweth.

Eighth.

The IXth and Xth articles he denieth as very untrue.

Ninth

and tenth

Eleventh.

To the XIth he saith, that whereas sir Thomas Jones knight, advertised him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated matrimony in a private house, betwixt a certain priest and a woman whose sister had refused the same, the said Prichard leaving his own cure unserved on that Sunday, this defendant did put the same Thomas Prichard to penance for so doing, marrying them without banns. And whereas he made the said Thomas Prichard, who is a bachelor of law, his commissary; it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to justice. And the said defendant did never favour nor bear with any man wittingly in his wrong doings. He confesseth that the matrimony was solemnized in a private church, and that the cure was that day unserved.

To the XIIth he saith, that it is slanderous, and utterly untrue. And that one sir John Hughes, priest, made Sage Hughes (daughter to his stepmother) a

Twelfth.

- Mary.* harlot at eleven years of age, and after married her openly to another man, being minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her husband again, and kept her, alleging a former contract. And when the said John Hughes was lawfully convicted before the said bishop, in open court at Caermarthen, of that his abominable adultery, claiming the king's pardon thereof, yet the said Sage confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which latter crime he denied: nevertheless she proved with child, affirming, both before the birth and after, the child to be his; the midwife and others being witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstanding, George Constantine, as a wicked bolsterer of the said priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the aforesaid chanter, first uttered that Meredith Thomas was father of the said child: which matter was ordered in the ecclesiastical court according to justice, without any partial affection of the said bishop, or of any other, to his knowledge.
- Thirteenth.* To the XIIIth he saith, it is utterly false so far as he knoweth.
- Fourteenth.* To the XIVth he saith, that by lawful sequestration in the king's majesty's name, he committed the custody of the fruits of Llangattwg and Lanfihangel to two honest men, for the behoof of the king's first fruits and tenths, and of the next incumbent; and further, he did not meddle nor minister any cause of unquietness in that behalf.
- Fifteenth.* To the XVth he saith, that he made a collation, lawful (as he supposeth) of the prebend of Llan Bister, to Stephen Green his chaplain, without any covin or colour; and further he did not meddle in that behalf.
- Sixteenth.* To the XVIth he saith, all is untrue as far as he knoweth.
- Seventeenth.* To the XVIIth he saith, it is untrue for his own part; and for his officers, as far as he knoweth.
- Eighteenth.* To the XVIIIth he saith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the recusants justly, as he thinketh, because they refused wilfully to pay the king's whole subsidy of their whole dividends, as it standeth in the king's book, pertaining to the canons resident.
- Nineteenth.* To the XIXth he saith, that after travel of fourteen miles, being not able fasting to celebrate the communion, in a chapel within the house of sir Thomas Jones knight, one of the king's majesty's honourable council of the Marches of Wales, this defendant celebrated matrimony without receiving the communion for the causes abovesaid, betwixt master Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the said sir Thomas Jones, according to the king's ordinances. And Thomas Prichard priest, administered the holy communion there without any superstition, to this defendant's knowledge; and the married persons not disposed to receive the holy communion, he could not compel them against their consciences; and saith, that he did not dispense with them, as it is contained in the article.
- To the slanderous and untrue title of Maintenance of Superstition, etc.,* he saith, that he did not maintain any superstition, contrary to the king's ordinances and injunctions; but, abhorring in his heart all superstition, hath travailed and doth travail to abolish the same by true doctrine and doing, as much as he can, with the king's peace, among his people there.
- Twentieth.* To the XXth he saith, that George Constantine, in the third year of the king's majesty's reign, not regarding the dangerous time of rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any authority known to this defendant, the communion altar in Caermarthen church, by his own presumptuous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the church, not without grudge of the people. Wherefore the bishop, fearing tumult, commanded the vicar to set up the communion table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.
- Twenty-first.* To the XXIst he saith, that he hath been divers times in the choir of Caermarthen, and hath tarried there in the communion-time, not communicating himself; and that in every church where he cometh on the holy-day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the choir, bareheaded, as well at matins before the communion, as at even-song after, without any superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the communion's sake to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the people not to kneel nor knock to the visible show, or external show of the sacrament. And the choirs of Caermarthen and other

places there, are not close at the sides, so that the people may come in and forth at their pleasure. Moreover, the king's ordinances do not authorize him to rebuke the people for knocking on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for mercy in Christ.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

To the XXXIId he saith, that in the time of rebellion in Devonshire and Cornwall, threatening to come into Wales, he, teaching the people the true form of prayer according to God's holy word, and declaring the prayer upon beads to be vain and superstitious, yet durst not, for fear of tumult, forcibly take from any man his beads, without authority. And touching the not reproving of such as he should meet, wearing beads, he remembereth not that he hath so done, unless it were in the rebellion time: at which time he durst not rebuke such offenders.

Twenty-second article.

To the XXXIId he saith, that he—being in the pulpit, his face towards the people—did not see the lights, if any were set up about the corpse behind his back till after that he came down from the pulpit. But he, with George Constantine and the aforesaid chanter, sitting in the church in Caermarthen to hear causes, and seeing the vicar with other priests, with song and lights bringing a corpse up to the church, called forthwith the vicar and priests, and rebuked them in open court, as cormorants and ravens, flying about the dead carcass for lucre's sake.

Twenty-third.

To the XXIVth he saith, that he caused the one child, being born with great peril of death to the mother, and itself lying for dead a certain space after, to be christened on the working-day: the other child was christened on the working-day, because both father and mother, and all other people there, were in peril of death by reason of the sudden sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusation, which is, that by that example it is used after the old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

Twenty-fourth.

To the title of *Covetousness*, he saith, his doings prove the contrary; as his neighbours know.

And the XXVth article he utterly denieth.

To the XXVIth he saith, that his hall at Aber Gwilli being ruinous, he useth for his hall a great chamber adjoining, for himself and his servants and all manner of strangers; and besides twenty persons in house daily. What other hospitality he keepeth, honest neighbours can testify.

Twenty-fifth.

Twenty-sixth.

To the XXVIIth he saith, that his talk is according to his hearers; that is to say, reverently and truly of faith, love, and honest life, according to the Scriptures, to like auditors; and to other unreverend and rash turmoilers of Scriptures and holy doctrine, he doth talk of honest worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not most commonly talk of such things as are expressed in this article, but when he hath honest occasion so to do.

Twenty-seventh.

The XXVIIIth he saith is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of their lands; but, whereas he is destitute of necessary provision, and would have part of his own domain from certain freeholds, having it only from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain it without brawling: wherefore he suffereth them to keep it even yet still, against right and reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the crows should eat it, etc. he never spake any such word.

Twenty-eighth.

To the XXIXth he saith, that whereas his predecessor, bishop Barlow, did let to farm the Isle of Ramsey to one William Brown, after whose hands this defendant received it into his own possession, the vicars of St. David's being dispossessed of it long before; he did let it over to Stephen Green for forty shillings the ground, as it was before, and three pounds more for seals, conies, and fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the vicars choral had therein, who did refuse, when this defendant did diligently, upon reasonable conditions, offer the same unto them: and this defendant made no promise unto them, as is contained in the article.

Twenty-ninth.

To the XXXth he saith, He knoweth not but that he advertised his bailiff to warn the freeholders, and others having his domain to rent, during pleasure, to leave it at a lawful day to this defendant's necessary use; and did not cause the curate to do as is contained in the article, to his remembrance.

Thirtieth.

To the XXXIst he saith, that he knoweth not what the priest bade in the church, nor how many ploughs there came, undesired of this defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he desired no man's labour but for his money.

Thirty-first.

Marg.

A. D.
1555.

To the XXXIId he saith, that he knoweth not any such appointment of schools and revenues there; but he found there (after the departing of bishop Barlow) a schoolmaster, an usher being a priest, and twenty scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge. He did never convert any penny thereof to his own use, albeit he might lawfully have done the same.

Thirty-

third
Thirty-
fourth

The XXXIId he saith, is all untrue, so far as he knoweth.

To the XXXIVth article he saith, He never purchased more than three parcels, whereof one was two shillings and eight pence by the year; the second, three shillings and four pence; and the third, six-and-twenty shillings and eight pence, or thereabout, by year: the rest he denieth.

Thirty-

fifth.

To the XXXVth he saith, that he never bought of Lewis John Thomas his land good cheap, but after forty years' purchase; not knowing at that time any such thing as is contained in the Article against the said Lewis John. Neither bade he the sumner to let him alone; but, as soon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the sumner to cite him: and so he was cited in this defendant's house, occasioning him to break his bargain. To the which Lewis this defendant said these words: "If you would give me your land with a house full of gold, I cannot, nor will not suffer you to keep a leman." Then the said Lewis affirming the latter woman to be his wife, and the first unknown to this defendant, he caused the said Lewis to be called to the consistory for trial, where it hangeth yet; and also by lawful process excommunicated the first woman, for that she would not by any means appear in the court to claim or to confess marriage with the said Lewis; and so she standeth this day at the point of "significavit."

See
Appendix

Thirty-
sixth.

To the XXXVIth he saith, that whereas the chanter, and Rowland Meyrike, with other canons there, would not obey the king's godly injunctions, concerning the finding of a school for poor men's children, a lecture of divinity, sermons on the Sundays, repairing of their church and mansion-houses, decent order and ministration there; but stubbornly counted themselves (with the chanter) to be a body politic, without regard of the bishop and his lawful monitions, being himself named in their shire statutes, "decanus et quasi decanus;" having also their dean's stall in the choir, with a prebend thereunto annexed, and the chief place in the chapter-house, with a key of their chapter-seal; being also, by the king's majesty's commission appointed their ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a book of their statutes, for the better knowledge of his and their duties, nor show unto him their records and muniments, for declaration of the king's right and his. For which cause this defendant, by writ of "Quo warranto," lawfully called them to answer; which yet lieth asleep, to the loss of the king's majesty's right. The time of delivery of the said writ, he remembereth not.

Thirty-
seventh.

The XXXVIIth he saith is all false, as far as he knoweth.

To the Title of Wilful Negligence; he saith, that he hath used to his power willing diligence.

Thirty-
eighth.

To the XXXVIIIth he saith, that he, being attendant, according to his bounden duty, to serve the king's highness during the time of the parliament, from the first unto the last day; then, immediately after, repaired into his diocese; and he might not trust Rowland Meyrike the chanter, and George Constantine, to execute faithfully the jurisdiction; because they had before (through their slanderous life, and not punishing misdoers) left the country in great enormity of filthy whoredom. And saith further, that one cause why he appointed not an officer, etc., was for that he lacked his letters of authority of jurisdiction.

Thirty-
ninth and
fortieth.
Forty-
first.

The XXXIXth and XLth he saith are untrue.

To the XLth he saith, that how often he did minister the communion he doth not remember; but in all other things, so far as he knoweth, he hath studied to order himself according to his vocation; as far as he believeth, he goeth like a minister.

Forty-
second.

To the XLId he saith, that he hath not alienated himself from study, neither preached indiscreetly, nor reported the Scriptures untruly to his knowledge: but he hath been very much hindered both from study and preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed persons. And that he did set forth the doctrine of honest marriage, as well of all other men as of priests, even as the Scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

To the XLIII^d he saith, that, reciting the words of Luke, "If thy brother have offended against thee, blame him; and if he repent, forgive him; and if he have offended against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day be converted unto thee, saying, I am sorry; forgive him:" he said further these words in effect: "It appeareth by this place of Scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Forty-
third
article.

To the XLIVth he saith, that he hath preached right often at Caermarthen, as well as at other places; and, he saith, that a great number at Aber Gwili do understand English very well.

Forty-
fourth.

To the XLVth he saith, that after he had preached first at Brecknock, Caermarthen, Swansea, Laugharne, Tenby, Pembroke, Hereford, St. David's, Cardigan, with other notable towns; he hath, since that time, preached to a great many other poor churches, but not in Tenby nor Pembroke: but for Hereford, he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first a learned preacher, of godly life, the ungodly stubborn behaviour of the persons before named wearied him away. And whereas he had waged another learned man to come into his diocese to preach, George Constantine, by his discouragement, advertised him from this defendant.

Forty-
fifth.

To the XLVIth he saith, that in all his churches appropriated, there are both Bible and Paraphrases, so far as he knoweth: and if the priests there would not show him the lack thereof, yet should the officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

Forty-
sixth.

To the XLVIIth he saith, that George Constantine covetously engrossed into his hands a great number of Paraphrases; and this defendant hath admonished the clergy to buy every one, for his discharge: and if the said George, being official of two archdeaconries, and other officials in their office, would declare unto him what churches do lack Bibles or Paraphrases, he would cause it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

Forty-
seventh.

To the title of *Folly*, he saith, that his desire is in true simple manner of his words, deeds, and other honest behaviour, through God's grace to show godly *wisdom*.

To the XLVIIIth he saith, that he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or fashion, with honest use of saddle, bridle, stirrups, staff, and other like necessary or convenient things; and saith, that he used a saddle made after the Scottish fashion, with stirrups of iron unvarnished, and like spurs; and black bridle without studs, the bit and snaffle white, as other men's be.

Forty-
eighth.

To the XLIXth he saith, that when he goeth abroad in winter, he weareth a hat, to bear off rain and snow, and in summer to shadow him from the sun, without any vow of superstition or offence of the people.

Forty-
ninth.

To the Lth he saith, that all is one to him, to ride or go, as cause requireth; and whether he said as is contained in the article or not, he remembereth not. Howbeit he doth use to go afoot.

Fiftieth

To the LIst he saith, that, after lawful prayer, it pleased God to give him a son begotten and born in honest marriage, whom he therefore caused to be named Samuel, presenting him to the minister to be received into Christ's church, as a poor member of Christ. By the holy sacrament of baptism was this done openly in the cathedral church, with earnest gravity, and without offending any man; and also two wives, being before at variance, desired both to be godmothers, which were both received to make unity between them, not knowing any law to the contrary, nor any offence thereby conceived of the people.

Fifty-
first.

To the LII^d he saith, that he doth use with gravity all honest-loving entertainment of his child, to encourage him hereafter willingly, at his father's mouth, to receive wholesome doctrine of the true fear and love of God; and saith, that he hath whistled to his child, but said not, that the child understood it; and that he answered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the article.

Fifty-
second.

To the LIII^d he saith, that he was never surveyor, but went to see Milford Haven for honest purpose, and not to survey it; and for that he, at the sight of a seal, whistled in his fist, such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose. And it is not true, that he stood whistling an hour to the seal, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any such answer made by him, to his knowledge.

Fifty-
third.

Mary. To the LIVth he saith, that if he did say, "The destroying of the fry letteth plenty of fish," he thinketh the same not against reason; but he remembereth not to have said, as is contained in the article.

A.D.
1555. To the LVth he saith, that he remembereth not that ever he said as they allege.

Fifty-fifth.
Fifty-sixth. To the slanderous, untrue, and ungodly conclusion, he saith, that George Constantine, with other his adversaries before named, and their adherents—not regarding the fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving obedience towards God and the king, and his true ministers—have too much slanderously, with false tongues, contumelious words, and spiteful deeds, laboured by all means to discredit and deface the king's gracious authority to him committed; who, ever since he came to the diocese, hath endeavoured himself to show his faithful ministry by his true honest doings, and to use his authority according to his vocation, to God's glory and the king's honour. And that he hath been diligent in teaching of truth, reforming of superstition, free of hospitality, diligent in overseeing with godly wisdom, peace, and mercifulness; as he trusteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able justly to charge his adversaries with all the faults herein by them most unjustly and slanderously against him objected. And he doth marvel greatly, that George Constantine, with other his adherents, are not ashamed maliciously to object (for the intent to slander him) molesting of preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath molested none, but hath justly brought under Significavit one Morice, a preacher, living lewdly, for his stubborn behaviour and malicious contentments; even yet continuing in his wilful contempt and irregularity. And he hath, to his knowledge, justly certified Hugh Rawlins, parson of Tenby, for his wilful recusancy of two other personages, shamefully deceiving the king's majesty by colour of commission, as appeareth by the same. And as for the railing contemptuous preaching of Rowland Meyrike, and the unlearned arrogant preaching of the chanter, he referreth to discreet hearers, which were offended thereat, as they showed this defendant. And this deponent brought into his diocese both learned preachers, and learned men in the law, to his very great charges, which men George Constantine, with his adherents, hath wearied away.

After these answers thus exhibited by the virtuous and godly bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous articles of his foresaid adversaries, to wit, Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee: then came in for witness, upon the said articles and informations, George Constantine, and the chanter of St. David's: against whom the bishop laid first exceptions, then also exhibited matter justificatory, the tenor and process whereof here followeth in order to be seen—first, concerning the exceptions, and after, the matter justificatory.

Exceptions general, laid and proposed on the behalf of Robert, Bishop of St. David's, against all and singular the pretended Witnessnesses, produced on the behalf of Hugh Rawlins clerk, and Thomas Lee, upon their untrue surmised Articles, by them exhibited unto and before the King's most honourable Council, by the device and procurement of the Chanter, and George Constantine, with Rowland Meyrike clerk, against the said Bishop.

First, the said bishop saith and allegeth, that by law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the depositions and sayings of the said witnesses, or any part thereof, because they are infamous, false, perjured, and, in some part of their depositions, discording, partial, conducted, subornate, instructed, and, for favour of the informers and their bolsterers, have deposed of malice more than the articles whereupon they were produced do contain; and beside, and without the compass of the same articles, and in divers other parts of their depositions, they depose *unum et eundem præmeditatum sermonem*, as by their said depositions doth appear, unto the which the said bishop referreth himself as much as it shall be expedient for him, and none otherwise: and further, for other causes particularly and specially, as is declared in the Book of Exceptions.

Exceptions against the unlawful Proceedings of Hugh Rawlins, Clerk, and Thomas Lee, Promoters of the foresaid untrue Articles, in executing their Commission for Proof of the same.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Item, The said Thomas Lee, for himself and the other promoter, did, contrary to justice, at the execution of their commission, examine certain of the witnesses himself, in the house of his brother-in law, George Constantine; and the said Lee, and David Walter (the bishop's mortal enemy, and servant to the said George Constantine), did write these depositions upon the articles at their own pleasures; and also, after the device of the said George Constantine, and the chanter, and Rowland Meyrike, the bishop's mortal enemies, and the very devisers and procurers of the informations, and bolsters and bearers of the promoters in the suit thereof. These are the names of the witnesses so examined, which are already known: David ap sir Richard, of Bettus, a perjured and an adulterous person, standing in the number for two witnesses, written in two places of the book: Jenan ap Ruddz. of Kennarthe, Griffith ap Howel Guyn of Kennarthe, Lewis David clerk, David ap Harvey clerk, sir Harrie Gough, alias Morgan, etc.

See
Appendix.

Item, One John Draper of Caermarthen, and an adherent of the foresaid adversaries and enemies to the said bishop, did also, contrary to the tenor of their commission, examine certain witnesses; and had to his clerk one William Davids, servant in livery unto the foresaid Griffith Donne, the bishop's utter enemy: by which shameful partiality they have written more matter, more words, other terms and sentences, than some of the deponents have deposed or could depose. Humfrey Toy, the fifth deponent; Rice Gough, the fourteenth deponent; William ap Jem, the fiftieth deponent; John Jem Guyn, the sixty-eighth deponent; Richard Parson, the thirty-ninth; which are already known what manner of men the promoters are.

Item, The said Hugh Rawlins was not present at the bishop's sermon, whereof his information maketh mention, neither yet at the executing of the commission for the proof thereof: for the foresaid adversaries did devise the same, and gave it unto the said Rawlins to promote, choosing him for the same purpose; knowing him to be a man willing (and setting his whole delight) to work mischief, both with word and deed, who abuseth his tongue most shamefully, with most unfitting words, ever railing upon the said bishop to every man that will hear him, without either respect or reverence of the king's majesty's authority to the said bishop committed. And the said Rawlins hath four or five benefices, above the value of two hundred marks a year, and is resident upon none of them, but spendeth his living to the hinderance of other men, going about here and there, wandering to and fro, without either man or boy waiting on him; more like a light person than a man of such livelihood, and of his vocation, being a preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd fellow, of all that know his behaviour, insomuch that when a certain man objected unto the adversaries, that it was ill done to put so lewd a fellow as Rawlins to promote their cause, they answered and reported his honesty with these words: "We know Rawlins to be a very knave, and so meet for no purpose as he is to set forward such a matter;" of which report there is sufficient witness. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his spiteful tongue; for he speaketh as boldly in this surmised matter to all the council, as though it were true, and much for the king's profit.

Item, The other promoter, Thomas Lee, is a merchant, who hath sold his ware, and spent his money; and now, for want of other business, is become a promoter of the foresaid articles, having his costs and charges borne by the said principal adversaries, as it is alleged in the bishop's exceptions, which shall be proved, if a commission might be awarded for the purpose.

And thus much concerning the exceptions against his pretended accusers: next followeth the matter justificatory exhibited by the said bishop, in defence of his own cause, as by the effect here appeareth.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Certain Articles ministered by Robert, Bishop of St. David's, against a surmised Information exhibited by Thomas Lee, to the King's Majesty's most Honourable Council, against the said Bishop.

Proved
by the
statutes.

Inprimis, viz. that there ought none advantage to be taken against the said bishop, of the contents of the said pretended information, for the causes particularly following. And first, whereas it is objected against the said bishop, in the first, second, and fifth articles of the same information, that he (contrary to the king's highness's laws and statutes, and in the derogation of his highness's supremacy) passed a certain commission, institutions, and collations to benefices, in his own name, making no mention of the king's highness's authority; whereas of truth the said bishop, if he had passed out the commission, institutions, and collations in his own name, and without the king's majesty's style, as is surmised (as he did not), yet had he offended neither the laws nor statutes of this realm therein, as doth and may appear evidently in the same statutes and laws, to the which he referreth himself.

Proved
by the
statutes.

Item, Whereas it is deduced in the third article of the said pretended information, that the chancellor of the said bishop did admit and institute John Gough into the rectory of Haysguard, and gave a mandate for the induction of the said John, under the king's majesty's seal ecclesiastical, for the diocese of St. David's, with the test of the said bishop, and subscription of the said chancellor, which thing so deduced, if it be true, yet the said bishop cannot be worthily blamed thereof. But the chanter (then his chancellor unworthy) showed himself therein very ignorant of the king's statutes of parliament, wherein it is expressly provided, that in such cases the ordinary ought to pass all such institutions and inductions in his own name, and under his own seal; and not in the king's majesty's name, nor under his seal. And further, of very truth, the said chancellor, in admitting and instituting the said clerk to the said benefice without the knowledge and consent of the said bishop, did exceed his commission, for as much as the said bishop, at the granting of his commission of his chancellorship unto the said chanter, had restrained him expressly from the admitting and instituting of any clerk to any benefice within the said diocese, except the same clerk were first examined, found worthy, and admitted by the said bishop himself to the same benefice.

Act. ad-
duci pos-
sunt.

Item, Whereas in the fourth article of the said information it is contained, that the said bishop, after the admitting and instituting of the said John Gough, as is aforesaid, objected articles against him, amongst the which it was contained in effect, "Item, interrogetur quo titulo tenet rectoriam de Haysguard;" true it is that the said bishop, without molestation of the said Gough otherwise than law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of the title of the said fruits and patronage of the said benefice, in contempt of the king's majesty's royal crown and dignity, and without any derogation of the king's majesty's laws and statutes of this realm, did interrogate the said John Gough, how he held the said benefice, being admitted and instituted to the same without his knowledge or consent, as he might lawfully do, and as it is meet every ordinary should know how pastors are admitted to any cure within their diocese.

Item, Touching the contents of the sixth article of the said information, the said bishop allegeth that the vicarage of Pen Brynn, in the diocese of St. David's, being void, he, as patron thereof, to his knowledge, conferred it to John Evans, clerk, with letters of institution and induction; and afterwards, when the king's presentation came to him for one David Jenkins, clerk, he desired fourteen days respite, at that day either to show ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the law, or else, if he showed not, both he and his clerk to give place to the king's clerk: which condition was by sir Thomas Jones, knight, Dr. Meyrike, and the said David Jenkins, received; and an institution with an induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of sir Thomas Jones, knight, for safe custody for the king's clerk's behoof, after the fourteen days to be executed at the hands of the said bishop, if he failed to show: within which time the bishop did show an old ancient record, declaring the full right of patronage on the said bishop's behalf; and so that institution and induction was never put in execution by the said bishop.

Nevertheless the said David Jenkins (contrary to his promise and oath, giving thereupon his right hand to sir Thomas Jones, knight) took advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said bishop; after which time the lord chancellor, by his letters written to the said bishop, advertised him to admit one John ap Howel, clerk, presented by virtue of a vowson, which the lord chancellor adjudged to be good, and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former presentation, whereby he would not abar the other man's right. And so the said bishop made one collation, two institutions, and three mandates; doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further, there was no business nor inquietness about the possession of the said vicarage; but the said bishop giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Item, Whereas sir Thomas Jones advertised the said bishop, that Thomas Prichard, clerk, had celebrated matrimony in a private house, betwixt a certain priest and a woman whose sister had refused the same (as it is deduced in the eleventh article of the surmised articles laid in against the said bishop), the said Prichard, leaving his own cure unserved that Sunday, he did put the said Thomas Prichard to penance for such his misdoings, and the said Prichard did such penance as was enjoined him to do. And whereas the said bishop made the said Thomas Prichard (who is bachelor of law) his commissary, it was for the respect of his learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office, according to justice, and none otherwise.

Item, In the fourteenth article of the said surmised information, it is untruly declared, that through the unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the benefices of Llangatwg and Llanfihangel Cwm Du, and the indiscreet handling of the said bishop, there were raised a great number of people, to the great danger of the inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the said bishop, upon good and lawful considerations, and specially for that the king's majesty should be truly answered of his first-fruits and tenths of the said benefices, did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) sequester the said fruits in the king's majesty's name, and by his authority; and committed the custody thereof for a time unto two honest men, to the effect aforesaid, and none otherwise; without any occasion of tumult or gathering the people through his default or folly.

Item, Whereas it is alleged in the nineteenth article of the information, that the bishop did celebrate matrimony in his own person, without receiving or ministering the communion to the persons married, it is true, for that the said bishop had travelled fourteen long Welsh miles, and not able to celebrate the holy communion fasting; and, for other reasonable and lawful causes him moving, did, in a chapel within the house of sir Thomas Jones, knight (one of the king's honourable council of the marches of Wales), solemnize matrimony betwixt master Griffith Rice, and the daughter of the said sir Thomas Jones, without either receiving the holy communion himself, or ministering the same to the persons married; being as then not disposed so to do it lawfully and godly, without any such superstitious knockings or blessings, or other uncomely gestures, as is deduced in that article.

Item, Touching the contents of the residue of all the said articles contained in the said information, the said bishop, partly for the avoiding of tediousness, and partly for that some of them be untrue and mere false, some others general, obscure, frivolous, vain, and of none effect, but of malice and evil-will, contrary to truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanswered unto.

Item, The said bishop alledge, that he hath not by all the time that he hath been bishop, used any superstitions or papistry, as it is untruly surmised against him; but hath and doth, to the uttermost of his power, wit, and cunning, set forth, maintain, teach, and preach, the true doctrine of the gospel, and such laudable doctrine as he ought to do by the king's laws, injunctions, and proceedings; and for such a teacher he hath been and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriously.

And whereas the said chanter and George perceived their depositions to be insufficient, they required, and had, commission into the country to examine further witnesses, which they executed very partially and unlawfully, as is alleged in the bishop's exceptions above-mentioned. And whereas to the said Rawlins and Lee were awarded two several

<i>Mary.</i> <hr/> <i>A. D.</i> <hr/> 1555.	commissions, they, by favour of the officers, and for sparing of costs, conjoined both in one, and had three months to make return, as appeareth by the copy of their commission, which hereunder may be seen. ¹
---	---

During all this time of the examination of the witnesses, the said bishop was stayed at London, upon the allegation of the said adversaries; which was, that if the said bishop should depart into his diocese, he would let them of their proofs.

And at the return of their commission it was signified unto the council what a great number of witnesses they had examined, viz. sixscore and seven; which sounded very heinous in the council's ears.

*See
Appendix.*

And about three weeks after, publication of their witnesses was granted; and after that, it was a fortnight ere the bishop could get a copy written of their depositions, because the book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the bishop desired time, first, to inquire of what condition the persons were, that had witnessed against him, and to make exceptions and matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a commission for the proof thereof; which was then granted. And now it is objected, that the bishop was appointed so to travail with the expedition of his matter, that he should have sued out his commission, and have made return thereof at All-Hallowtide last past; but there was no such decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the bishop to do it in so short a time, these causes considered which he could not avoid, as followeth.

First, It was the latter end of July ere he came home to St. David's, where he began his visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of law constrained to answer at the bar daily, during all the time of the great sessions at Caermarthen, in defence of his just cause against the pretended matter of præmunire, which his adversaries of mere malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a quest of ignorant persons of no reputation, and indicted him upon the words of Rawlins' information, as appeareth by a copy of the indictment; intending thereby to make the matter sound more heinous; notwithstanding that the same cause dependeth before the king's high council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the commissioners, before his departure from London, to pay two hundred pounds (which was arrearages) into the court of First Fruits and Tenth, at Bartholomew-day then next following; which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his adversaries wrought means to have made him

(1) *A Copy of the Commission awarded down into the Country, for the Examination of Witnesses.*

Edwardus Sextus, Dei gratiâ Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et, in terrâ, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput:—dilectis et fidelibus suis Georgio Harbert militi, Thomæ Jones militi, et Johanni Wogan militi, ac dilectis sibi David Vaughan, et Owino ap Owen armigeris, salutem. Sciatis quòd nos, de fidelitatibus et providis circumspectionibus vestris plurimum fidentes, assignavimus vos, quatuor, tres, vel duos, vestrum, ac tenore præsentium damus vobis, quatuor, tribus, vel duobus, vestrum, plenam potestatem et auctoritatem capiendi et recipiendi depositiones et examinationes quorumcunque testium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins clericici, et Thomæ Leghe; de, et super, quibusdam articulis per ipsos Hugonem et Thomam Leghe concilio nostro exhibitis et presentibus inclusis: necnon hujusmodi depositiones et examinationes in scriptis redigendi: et nos de hujusmodi examinationibus et depositionibus (cum sic per vos, quatuor, tres, vel duos, vestrum, captæ fuerint) in crastino Ascensionis Domini proximè futuræ in cancellariam nostram (ubicunque tunc fuerit) sub sigillis vestris, quatuor, trium, vel duorum, vestrum, clausis certificandi, remittentes nobis tunc articulos prædictos unâ cum hoc brevi. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quòd circa præmissa diligenter intendatis cum effectu.—Teste me ipso, apud Westm., 9. die Martii, anno regni nostri sexto.

Marten.

break his day; namely, one Edward Harbert, gentleman, who hath a parsonage of his to farm, kept back his rent to the very last day, because that money should not help to serve his turn; and so, by crafty cavillation, detaineth it still in his hand with a year's rent and an half more: for the said Edward Harbert is an adherent of the said bishop's adversaries.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

Fifthly, The book of their depositions is so great, that it asketh a long time to peruse; and also the greatest part of their witnesses were utterly unknown of the bishop and all his: and also dwelling in so many sundry places of the diocese among the mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred miles.

Item, Another great sessions was holden at Caermarthen in the month of October last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his exceptions in shorter time.

The said bishop dispatched his man towards London the 23d day of October, who ever since hath been and is attendant in the same suit, for the obtaining the commission for proof of this matter against his adversaries.¹

And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed martyr of the Lord in king Edward's days, with the whole discourse thereof; which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this process, bishop Ferrar, partly upon the importunate suit of his adversaries, partly upon the sinister and unfortunate fall of the good duke of Somerset, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour showed, was detained in prison till the death of king Edward, and the coming in of queen Mary and popish religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined for his faith and doctrine: the process of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the foresaid master Ferrar bishop of St. David's had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the reign of king Edward, not for any just cause for his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric; at length, after the decease of king Edward, by the coming in of queen Mary the state of religion began to be changed and altered; whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of Præmunire, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the bishop of Winchester, with master Hooper, master Rogers, master Bradford, master Saunders, and others aforesaid, the 4th of February. On the which day he should also with them have been condemned; but, because leisure or list did not so well then serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued till the 14th day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were, before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as remained and came to our hands I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

The
second
trouble of
Ferrar in
the time
of queen
Mary.
*See
Appendix.*

(1) Two letters of bishop Ferrar, introduced here in some editions, will be found at p. 26 — Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The Answer of Robert Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, before Winchester and other Commissioners.

*See
Appendix.*

At his first coming and kneeling before my lord chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table; and master Rochester, master Southwell, master Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester:—"Now sir, have you heard how the world goeth here?"

Ferrar:—"If it like your honour, I know not."

Winchester:—"What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner?"

Ferrar:—"No, my lord, I know not."

Winchester:—"Lo, what a froward fellow is this?"

Ferrar:—"If it please your lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner?"

Winchester:—"Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?"

Ferrar:—"I know not my lord cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in: but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet."

Worcester:—"I pray your lordship tell him yourself, that he may know what is done."

Winchester:—"The queen's majesty and the parliament have restored religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of king Henry the Eighth. Ye are in the queen's debt; and her majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the catholic church."

Ferrar:—"In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's majesty, in the court of exchequer, my lord treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your honour, and the first time also, I showed you that I had made an oath never to consent or agree, that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your lordship; you know it well enough."

Bourne:—"You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford."

Ferrar:—"That was I not."

Bourne:—"You were."

Ferrar:—"I was never; it is not true."

Bourne:—"You went from St. David's to Scotland."

Ferrar:—"That I did not."

Bourne:—"You did."

Ferrar:—"That did I never; but I went from York into Scotland."

Bourne:—"Ah! so said I: you went with Barlow."

Ferrar:—"That is true; but never from St. David's."

Bourne:—"You carried books out of Oxford, to the archbishop of York, Edward Lee."

Ferrar:—"That did I not."

Bourne:—"You did."

Ferrar:—"I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's to the archbishop of York."

Bourne:—"You supplanted your master."

Ferrar:—"That did I never in my life."

Bourne:—"By my faith you did."

Ferrar:—"Forsooth I did not, never in my life; but did shield and save my master from danger; and that I obtained of king Henry the Eighth, for my true service, I thank God there-for."

"My lord," saith master Bourne to my lord chancellor, "he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any."

Ferrar:—"That is not so: whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it."

Bourne:—"He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money."

Ferrar:—"That is utterly untrue: I never deceived king or queen of one penny in my life; and you shall never be able to prove that you say."

Winchester:—"Thou art a false knave."

Then Ferrar stood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled), and said, "No, my lord, I am a true man; I thank God for it! I was born under king Henry the Seventh; I served king Henry the Eighth, and king Edward the

Ferrar
charged
with the
queen's
debt.

Ferrar
refuseth
the pope.

Falsely
charged
to have
supplanted
his
master.

Ferrar
stoutly
standeth
upon his
truth;

Sixth truly ; and have served the queen's majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word: more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Winchester :—"How sayest thou? wilt thou be reformable?"

Ferrar :—"My lord, if it like your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to king Henry the Eighth, and also to king Edward, and in that to the queen's majesty, the which I can never break while I live, to die for it."

and to his oath made to the king against the pope.

Durham :—"You had made another oath before."

Ferrar :—"No, my lord; I never made another oath before."

Durham :—"You made a vow."

Ferrar :—"That did I not."

Winchester :—"You made a profession to live without a wife."

Ferrar :—"No, my lord, if it like your honour; that did I never. I made a profession to live chaste—not without a wife."

Chastity is not to live without a wife.

Worcester :—"You were sworn to him that was master of your house."

Ferrar :—"That was I never."

Winchester :—"Well, you are a froward knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this seven-night."

Ferrar :—"I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, to die for it."

Winchester's perjury touched.

Durham :—"Well! he standeth upon his oath: call another."

My lord chancellor then did ring a little bell, and master Ferrar said, "I pray God save the king and queen's majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your honours;" and so departed.

After these examinations thus ended, bishop Ferrar so remained in prison uncondemned, till the 14th day (as is aforesaid) of February; and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Who then, upon the 26th of February, in the church of Caermarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, esquire, sheriff of the county of Caermarthen, was there personally presented before Henry, bishop of St. David's, and Constantine the public notary: which Henry there and then discharged the said sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones; and thereupon declared unto the said master Ferrar the great mercy and clemency, that the king and queen's highness' pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said master Ferrar; that is to say, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal catholic church, he should be received and pardoned. After that, seeing the said master Ferrar to give no answer to the premises, the said bishop ministered unto him these articles following.

Ferrar brought before Morgan, pretended bishop of St. David's.

Articles devised against Bishop Ferrar.

First, Whether he believeth the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God and holy church, or no?

Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?

Unto the which articles the said bishop required the said master Ferrar to answer upon his allegiance. To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission; and would make no further answer at that time. Whereupon the said bishop, taking no

The answer of bishop Ferrar.

Mary. advantage upon the same answer, committed him to the said keeper,
A.D. to be kept in prison until a new monition, and in the mean time to
1555. deliberate with himself for his further answer to the premises.

ANOTHER EXAMINATION OF THE BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S, BEFORE
 HENRY MORGAN THE PRETENSED BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S,
 GEORGE CONSTANTINE HIS REGISTRAR, AND OTHERS,
 THE LAST OF FEBRUARY, A.D. 1555.

This day and place, Morgan the pretended bishop of St. David's sitting as judge, ministered unto bishop Ferrar, there personally present before him, certain articles and interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said bishop Ferrar refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority. Whereupon the aforesaid pretended bishop of St. David's did pronounce him as *contumax*, and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing: which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the 4th of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF THE SAID BISHOP FERRAR, BEFORE
 MORGAN THE PRETENSED BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

Item, The day and place appointed, the said bishop appearing again before the pretended bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions abovementioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself: which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between one and three to answer precisely and fully; so he was committed again to custody, as above.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF THE SAID BISHOP.

On Thursday, as was appointed, which was the 7th of March, the said bishop personally again appeared; where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his answer unto certain articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then after, Henry, the pretended bishop of St. David's, offered him again the said articles as before; the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect:

Articles again ministered against Bishop Ferrar.

First, That he willed him, being a priest, to abrenounce matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

Thirdly, That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can err.

Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by faith only; but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

Sixthly, That the catholic church, which only hath authority to expound Scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like unto a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand.

To these articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and excogitated by man, and per-

*See
 Appendix.*

Ferrar
 will not
 subscribe
 to them.

tain nothing to the catholic faith. After this, the bishop above-named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF BISHOP FERRAR.

Upon the which Monday, being the 11th of March, he, appearing again before the bishop, and the aforesaid notary George Constantine, exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer to the foresaid articles, which the bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which articles and answers he did so subscribe—adding these words, as “tenens se de æquitate et justitia esse Episcopum Menevensensem”—that the bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF BISHOP FERRAR.

The which day and place the said bishop and true servant of God, master Ferrar, personally there appearing, was demanded of Henry the pretensed bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors (as he called them), which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the catholic articles, otherwise than he had done before.

After this the said godly bishop, master Ferrar, did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, and remaining in the Acts; appealing withal by express word of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to Cardinal Pole, etc. All which notwithstanding, the said bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him, contained in writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which sentence he pronounced him as a heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power; namely, to the sheriff of the town of Caermarthen, master Leyson.¹

Ferrar appealeth from the bishop to the cardinal.
Sentence pronounced.

(1) The tenor of his sentence, as well of his condemnation as of his degradation, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation against Bishop Ferrar.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Henricus, permissione divinâ Menevensis Episcopus, judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentes, in quodam inquisitionis et hæreticæ pravitatis negotio contra te Robertum Ferrar presbyterum (coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, et nobis super hæreticâ pravitate traditum, ac famâ et notorietate facti delatum), ac in eâ parte legitime procedendo, auditis, visis, et intellectis, rimatis, ac maturâ deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis et circumstantiis, servatisque in omnibus per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes: quia per acta inactitata, deducta, confessata, et ex parte tuâ coram nobis in eodem negotio sæpius recognita, asserta, et confirmata, comperimus te, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas judiciales, coram nobis judicialiter factas, errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones subscriptas, juri divino ac catholicæ universalis et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi obvias, contrarias, et repugnantes, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, et dogmatizasse infra diocæsem nostram Menevensensem, viz.: “Quòd licet cuicumque religioso etiam expressè professo et presbytero, post susceptam professionem et post susceptum presbyteratus ordinem, ducere uxorem, ac cum eadem tanquam cum uxore legitimâ conversari. Item: sacras religiones, ab ecclesiâ catholicâ institutas, cum scandalo damnasse et reprobasse. Item: quòd in eucharistiâ, sive altaris sacramento, unâ cum corpore et sanguine Christi remanet substantia panis et vini. Item: quod Missa non est sacrificium Novi Testamenti, propitiatorium pro vivis atque defunctis. Et sacramentum altaris non esse in altari ministrandum, elevandum, vel aliquo modo adorandum. Item: quòd homo solâ fide justificatur;” quos quidem errores, hæreses, et falsas opiniones, juri divino ac catholicæ universalis et apostolicæ ecclesiæ determinationi, obvias, etc.

The Copy of the Sentence of Degradation.

In nomine Patris, + Filii, + et Spiritûs Sancti, + Amen. Quia nos Henricus, permissione divinâ Menevensis Episcopus, per viam inquisitionis in negotio hæreticæ pravitatis, cognoscentes te Robertum Ferrar clericum propter tuam manifestam contumaciam et obstinaciam per nos nunciatum fuisse et esse, in illud detestabile crimen hæresis multipliciter incidisse et commisisse: quòd cum non solum grande, sed etiam damnabile et damnosum sit, et adco enorme, quòd exinde non tantum divina Majestas offensa, sed et universa diocæsis Menevensis commota est, et ob hoc indignum officio sacerdotali et ecclesiastico sis redditus: idcirco nos, autoritate Dei Patris Omnipotentis, et Filii, et Spiritûs Sancti, et nostrâ, te ab omni hujusmodi officio sententialiter perpetuo privamus in his scriptis, teque ab illis verbo deponimus (realiter et actualiter secundum traditionem canonum deponendum) et (degradandum, prout in ordinario pontificali continetur) degradamus, prout sequitur. In primis amovemus a te, etc.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Bishop
Ferrar
brought
to the
place of
execu-
tion.

Thus this godly bishop, being condemned and degraded, was committed to the secular power, who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Caermarthen, where he, in the market place in the south side of the market-cross, the 30th day of March, being Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, most constantly sustained the torments and passion of the fire.

A memo-
rable ex-
ample of
constancy
in this
blessed
bishop
and mar-
tyr.

Touching the which constancy of this blessed martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to master Ferrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer: unto whom the bishop answered again to this effect, saying, that if he saw him once to stir in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, but even as he stood (holding up his stumps), so still he continued, till one Richard Gravell with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

LETTERS OF DR. FERRAR, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.

As touching the letters of master Ferrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in queen Mary's time his imprisonment was so strait, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other troubles, in king Edward's time, certain letters he wrote to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, and to the earl of Warwick: which letters, although they might be well referred to the first edition of this story; yet because in the said letters is contained briefly and in few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust vexation at that time wrought by his adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that blessed bishop, and of the crafty iniquity of his conspired enemies; as in the said letters here following to the indifferent reader may easily appear.

The Copy of a certain Letter of the Bishop of St. David's, written belike to the Lord Chancellor, Dr. Goodrick, Bishop of Ely.

Most humbly sheweth unto your honour, your poor orator Robert, bishop of St. David's, that whereas one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of Thomas Young and Rowland Meyrike, being both canons of St. David's, and George Constantine, registrar to the said bishop) hath exhibited unto your honour against him certain articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable audience, and also their pretended weighty articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee hath had commissions into the country: therefore it may please your honour, of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said orator a like commission for the examination of witnesses, in defence of his truth and honesty against the said Thomas Lee, George Constantine, and the aforementioned Rowland Meyrike, and all other persons, with their unjust articles, attestations, and sayings, which hath deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said orator standeth bounden, and sureties with him, in the sum of a thousand marks, to appear before the king's justice, in the sessions at Caermarthen, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of Præmunire, by the procurement and counsel of his forenamed adversaries, maliciously

surmised against him to his utter undoing: and furthermore that your orator, being in debt to the king's majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the foresaid adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there be [ar]rearages to a great sum (as well of the king's money as of his own rents), he can receive none thereof, his adversaries have made such ill report to his discredit, bearing the people in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which bruit, neither his own tenants will pay their rents and [ar]-rearages, nor the priests their [ar]rearages due to the king's majesty, as well for anno secundo and tertio, as for quarto and quinto. In consideration of all which things, it may please your honourable goodness to license your said orator to depart into the diocese, for these affairs and others. And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesu for the perpetual conservation of your honour, to his glory.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Bishop
Ferrar
with his
sureties
in a
thousand
marks to
appear in
a matter
of Præ-
munire.

Besides this letter he wrote another likewise to the same lord (who was, as seemeth, Dr. Goodrick, lord chancellor afore mentioned), wherein he declareth. the whole cause of his trouble, how it rose against him by his adversaries, as here followeth.

Another Letter written by the Bishop of St. David's, to the Chancellor aforesaid.

Right honourable, and my very special good lord, with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appeareth by your fatherly letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is very necessary, as charitable concord and unity: this is furtherly to beseech your lordship, for the Lord's sake, not to be grieved, but benignly to hear and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to others but a light grief, to me is, in very deed, a right grievous offence to Godward, with no little hindrance of his holy word, and disturbance of the king's godly proceedings; and may be a great occasion of much inobedience and disorder of good life. Wherefore I am straitly bounden, for the true zeal that I ought to bear unto God's word of life, christian religion, the king's majesty's honour, and the godly quiet state of his people, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be sought at his majesty's hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright council, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous canons, trusting in their biting tongues, with crafty prevention and utterly untrue surmises, to stop the light, that their ungodly misdoings in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right; insomuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in master chanter, the canon, and the dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly proved, and sensibly felt, in two of the first, to my great losses, whereof I make no complaint.

But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and wilful going backward of my old faithful brother George Constantine, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the true bearers of the cross of Christ, or at least privy lurkers, under pretence of favour towards the gospel, to sting the poor followers thereof; seeking but their own lucre and pleasure in all their doings) would so earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong deeds, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy sin for lucre's sake, even yet stiffly persisting in the same, namely, in things manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might not be credited.

Unkind
dealing of
George
Constantine
against
Ferrar.

And as for their Præmunire, both George and they, at my first coming, ungently detaining from master Farlee¹ his commission for the chancellorship, would have faced me down with Præmunire, because it was written in my own name according to the statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of unity, not to see their uncourteous deeds, departing with master Farlee for the avoiding of their malice and envy, and gave that office, for the anity of George, unto master

(1) This Farlee was chancellor to bishop Ferrar.

Margy. chanter¹ his son-in-law, and to master Meyrike, the office of Cardigan. But, seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lucre, not regarding the reformation of sin, and specially of shameless whoredom, I was compelled to remove them, sore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation-time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

A. D.
1555.
*Young and Mey-
rike re-
moved by
Ferrar
from
office.
The
wrongs
which
Ferrar
received
by them.*

Also desiring to have sight of the book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the chapter seal, as my lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my right, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon, considering their ungentleness, I moved the Quo warranto, knowing right well, that if they should show any substantial grant under the king's seal for their corporation, it must therein appear the bishop to be the head, and ever hath been under the king; for other they never have, nor had, except they would return to Rome again; as I trust they will not. And yet, perceiving afterward that they had no special grant to show, or else such as they would not show, I myself, for the respect of unity, wrote my letters to the king's attorney, by reason whereof the Quo warranto was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

But touching the certificate, the king's subsidy being due at Michaelmas last, and forborne till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay both to my vice-collector and to myself, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the king's roll a whole sum in gross, to be received of the canons residentiary for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the king's majesty to tarry for his money, till they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your fatherly goodness, for the Lord's sake, to persist and continue my good lord and friend unto such time as ye find me either desiring to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the judgment of my right cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their ungentle, untrue, and ungodly doings is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious letter, I shall now surcease; humbly beseeching your good lordship to accept in good part this my boldness, proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who save and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory.—Written at Aber Gwili, this 9th of March.

Your lordship's to command during life,

Robert Ferrar.

The History of one Rawlins White,

BURNED AT CARDIFF IN WALES ABOUT THE MONTH OF MARCH,
FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL, REPORTED BY
JOHN DANE, BEING YET ALIVE, WHO WAS ALMOST
CONTINUALLY WITH HIM DURING HIS TROUBLE,
UNTO HIS DEATH.

Forsomuch as we have here passed the history of master Ferrar, burned at the town of Caermarthen in Wales, I thought to adjoin and accompany with the same the history also of one Rawlins White, a fisherman, who, both in the like cause, and in the same country of Wales, and also about the same month of March and year aforesaid, gave his life, like a valiant soldier of Jesus Christ, to martyrdom, and was burned at Cardiff; the process of whose story here followeth expressed more at large.

(1) This chanter was doctor Young.

This Rawlins was by his calling or occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of twenty years at the least, in the town of Cardiff, being (as a man of his vocation might be) one of a very good name, and well accounted amongst his neighbours. As touching his religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known, but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used; I mean in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of king Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England, this Rawlins began partly to mislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before, by the iniquity of the time, had been concealed from him: and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher-out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: he had a little boy which was his own son; which child he set to school to learn to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father, every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read a piece of the holy Scripture, and now and then of some other good book; in which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had such a delight and pleasure, that, as it seemed, he rather practised himself in the study of the Scripture, than in the trade or science which beforetime he had used: so that Rawlins, within few years, in the said time of king Edward, through the help of his little son (a special minister appointed by God, no doubt, for that purpose), and through much conference besides, profited and went forward in such sort, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others: and therefore, upon occasion served, he would go from one place to another, visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing, he became, in that country, both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times and in all such places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistance to this his good purpose. And to this his great industry and endeavour in the holy Scripture, God did also add in him a singular gift of memory; so that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that, in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish; insomuch that he, upon the alleging of Scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea and the very sentence: such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, king Edward died, upon whose decease queen Mary succeeded, and, with her, all kind of superstition and papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, as before he was wont; and therefore oftentimes, in some private place or other, he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time, so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number; which number, no doubt, had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been. The extremity and force whereof, at the last, so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison: whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions, did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children; and by that means he should escape that danger which was imminent over his head.

But Rawlins, nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the time, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson touching the confessing and denial of Christ; advertising them, that if he, upon their persuasions, should presume to deny his master Christ, Christ, in the last day, would deny and utterly condemn him: "and therefore," quoth he, "I will, by his favourable grace, confess and bear witness of him before men, that I may find him in everlasting life."

Mary

A.D.
1555.

The desirous mind of Rawlins to search for truth. This godly intent in setting his son to school.

Rawlins by means of his son came to the knowledge of Scripture.

The gift of memory in Rawlins.

Rawlins exhorted to shift for himself.

Promised to be constant unto death.

Mary. Notwithstanding which answer, his friends were very importunate with him. Howbeit father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy; upon which apprehension he was conveyed before the bishop of Llandaff; then was, the said bishop lying then at his house beside Chepstow; by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, because he would rid his hands of him, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe and extreme, but that, if he had so listed, he might have escaped oftentimes.

Rawlins might escape and would not.

Rawlins a year in prison.

A godly woman stirred up to relieve him.

Exhortation of Rawlins to his friends.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, insomuch that at the last he, by the aforementioned bishop, was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued by the space of one whole year; during which time, this reporter resorted to him very often, with money and other relief from this reporter's mother (who was a great favourer of those that were in affliction in those days), and other of his friends; which he received not without great thanks and praises given to the name of God. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, as ye have heard, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet, but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends, as commonly came unto him: insomuch that on the Sundays and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortations, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets, which come in sheep's clothing.

By no means could be reduced to return to popery.

Now when he had continued in Cardiff-castle by the space of one whole year (as I have said), the time of his further trial was at hand. Whereupon the forenamed bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house beside Chepstow; and whilst he continued there, the bishop assayed many ways how to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by their threatening words, or flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise, and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law: and thereupon gave him a day of determination; which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, not without a great number of other by-standers, that came to behold the manner of their doings.

Brought before the bishop of Llandaff in judgment.

When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them. The bishop, after a great deliberation in addressing himself, as it seemed, and silence forewarned to the rest that were there present, used a long kind of talk to him, declaring the cause of his sending-for, which was for that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood: "for," said the bishop, "Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house, and elsewhere, been travailed withal touching your opinions; and, that notwithstanding, ye seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you: so that the matter is come to this point, that if you will show yourself repentant for that which you have done against God and the prince's law, we are ready to use favour towards you; but, if by no means we can persuade with you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law unto you—and therefore advise yourself, what you will do.

When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, "My lord, I thank God I am a christian man; and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God: and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a christian man ought to be." Many more words were in like sort between the bishop and Rawlins, which this reporter doth not well remember. But in the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

"Proceed in your law a God's name," said Rawlins; "but for a heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth." "But," said the bishop to his company, "before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God

that he would send some spark of grace upon him,¹ [meaning Rawlins] and it may so chance that God, through our prayer, will here turn and convert his heart." When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, "Ah, my lord," quoth he, "now you deal well, and like a godly bishop; and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentleness. Christ saith, "Where two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them:" and there be more than two or three of you. Now, if it be so that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go to; do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.The
bishop
prayeth
to his God,
and Raw-
lins to his.

By and by the bishop with his company fell to prayer; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands. And when they had prayed a while, the bishop with his company arose from prayer; and then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, "Now Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions, or no?" "Surely," said Rawlins, "my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me; and, by God's grace, Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a false God,² and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am only one poor simple man; as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause."

Rawlins
confirmed
in doc-
trine.

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reproved him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. Howbeit, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best, first, to have a mass, thinking that indeed, by so doing, some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

A mass
said for
conversion
of
Rawlins.

In the meantime poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place there by, until such time as the priest came to the sacrificing, as they term it, which is a principal point of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the sacrificing ring (as the use was), he rose out of his place, and came to the choir-door, and, there standing a while, turned himself to the people, speaking these words: "Good people! if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol"—meaning the host that the priest held over his head.

His words
to the
people.

The mass being ended, Rawlins eftsoons was called for again; to whom the bishop used many persuasions; but the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain, and to no purpose: whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read. Which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed; and from thence he was, by the bishop's commandment, carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel; a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison. Rawlins in the meantime passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing of psalms: which kind of godly exercise he always used, both at Cardiff-castle, and in all other places.

Rawlins
still con-
stant in
the pro-
fession of
God's
truth.
Sentence
read, and
he sent to
prison.

Now, after he had thus continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison at Cardiff (as is aforesaid) a good space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head-officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one Henry Lewis, the recorder of the town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to them and told them, that if they did burn him before they had the writ, "De hæreticis comburendis," the wife of the said Rawlins would, upon just cause, by law, call their doings into question. Immediately upon this advertisement, they sent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they

The offi-
cers in-
tended to
burn him
without a
writ.The writ
awarded.

(1) The bishop of Llandaff proceedeth with prayer in condemnation of Rawlins; which commonly the popish persecutors are not wont to do.

(2) Popish bishops pray to a false god, and therefore are not heard.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Rawlins's
wedding-
garment.His going
to the
place of
execu-
tion.Rawlins
somewhat
moved at
the sight
of his
wife and
children;
but
wrestleth
against
his flesh.The ago-
ny and
fight of
this
christian
warrior.Rawlins
fastened
to the
stake.His
cheerful-
ness at
his death.A polish
sermon
preached
at his
martyr-
dom.

made some speed to the execution of the said Rawlins. Now, when the day was come wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself.

Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding-garment, meaning a shirt, which afterward he was burned in: which request, or rather commandment of his, his wife, with great sorrow and grief of heart, did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him, which he received most gladly and joyfully. Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which (as you heard before) he called his wedding-garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear. Besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather-buskins, which he had used long afore. And thus being brought out of prison (as I have said), he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of bills and gloves; which sight when he beheld, "Alas!" quoth he, "what meaneth all this? All this needed not. By God's grace I will not start away: but I, with all my heart and mind, give unto God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this, for his holy name's sake."

So he came to a place in his way, where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation; the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart that the very tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that in striking his breast with his hand he used these words: "Ah flesh! stayest thou me so? wouldest thou fain prevail? Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory." By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice (I mean the place appointed for his death), and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire; which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but, in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground: and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, "Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust: thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return." Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eye upon this reporter, and called him unto him, and said, "I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swinge; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself."

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the smith cast a chain about him; and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, "I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast; for it may be that the flesh would strive mightily; but God of thy great mercy give me strength and patience to abide the extremity!"

Now when the smith had made him sure to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed: wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best; for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch: which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus, when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting-to of the fire, directly over against the stake, in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. In the meantime Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted. At the last, the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and

there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions : in which his invective he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a clerkly interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by Scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hands to the people, saying twice, "Come hither, good people ; and hear not a false prophet preaching : " and then said unto the preacher, " Ah, thou naughty hypocrite ! dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by Scripture ? Look in the text what followeth : did not Christ say, ' Do this in remembrance of me ! ' " After which words the priest, being rather amazed than interrupted, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, " Put fire, set to fire ; " which being set to, the straw and reed, by and by, cast up both a great and sudden flame. In the which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away ; saving that once he did, as it were, wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, " O Lord, receive my soul ! O Lord, receive my spirit ! " until he could not open his mouth. At the last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he suffered or felt any great pain, considering that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life. Thus died this godly and old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, being now rewarded, no doubt, with the crown of everlasting life.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

His words to the false prophet.

Constant patience of Rawlins at his burning.

It is recorded, furthermore, of the said good father Rawlins, by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature. For as before he was wont to go stooping, or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance and a very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage and audacity both in speech and behaviour. He had—of which thing I should have spoken before—about his head a kerchief ; the hairs of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchief), and also of his beard, were more inclining to white than to grey, which gave such a show and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical.

A sudden alteration of nature marvelous in Rawlins before his death.

It is also said by this reporter,¹ that a little before the fire flashed up to his body (as ye have heard), many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand ; amongst whom the reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire rose and forced them to sunder. In the mean time the priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, that it was not lawful for any man to take him by the hand, because he was a heretic, and condemned by the church.—The chief cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was, at the time of his death, of the age of threescore years, or thereabouts.

(1) The reporter of this story was one master Dane.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

THE SUM OF THE WORDS SPOKEN BY QUEEN MARY TO CERTAIN
OF HER COUNCILLORS, MARCH 28, A.D. 1555, TOUCHING
THE RESTITUTION OF THE ABBEY LANDS.

The
names of
the coun-
cillors
called be-
fore
queen
Mary.

Before I pass over this month of March, I cannot but leave a little memorandum of the words or consultation of queen Mary, used to certain of the council the 28th day of the said month of March, touching the restoring again of the abbey lands; who, after she had called unto her presence four of her privy council, the day and month aforesaid (the names of which counsellors were these, namely, William, lord marquis of Winchester, high treasurer of England; sir Robert Rochester, knight, the queen's comptroller; sir William Peter, knight, secretary; sir Francis Englefield, knight, master of the wards); the said queen Mary inferred these words, the principal effect and sum whereof here followeth:—

The
words of
queen
Mary
touching
abbey
lands.
The
queen
maketh
a con-
science in
keeping
abbey
lands.
Surren-
dereth
from her-
self the
posses-
sion of
them.

“You are here of our council; and we have willed you to be called unto us, to the intent you might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions as well of monasteries, as of other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession.

“First, I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid in the time of schism, and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church; for the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them: and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart, freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here, and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose, that order and disposition thereof may be taken, as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

“And albeit you may object to me again, that, considering the state of my kingdom, and the dignity thereof, my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid: yet notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul, than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf, than I am myself.

Promises
for resti-
tution of
abbey
lands.

“Wherefore I charge and command, that my chancellor (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before), and you four, to-morrow together do resort to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premises in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the foresaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same.”

This intimation being given by the queen, first unto the counsellors, and then coming to the cardinal's hand, he, drawing out a copy thereof in Latin, sent the same to the pope; which copy drawn in Latin, and coming afterward to my hand, I have thus translated into English, as you have heard.

Ambas-
sadors
from
England
to Rome.

Furthermore, here by the way is to be understood, that in the month before, which was February, and on the 19th day of the said month, the bishop of Ely and the lord Montacute, with seven score horse, were sent as ambassadors from the king and queen unto Rome; for what cause, in story it is not expressed; but, by conjecture, it may be well supposed to be for the same cause of abbey lands, as by the sequel thereof may probably appear.

For it was not long after, but the pope did set forth in print a bull of excommunication for all manner of such persons, without exception, as kept any of the church or abbey lands; by virtue of which bull, the pope excommunicated as well all such as had any of the church or abbey lands, as also all such princes, bishops, and noblemen, justices of peace and others in office, who had not, or did not forthwith, put the same bull in execution. Albeit this execution (God be thanked) yet, to this day, was never put in practice. Wherein again is to be observed another catholic fetch, not unworthy, perchance, of marking. For whereas this kind of Catholics, by rigour and force, may overmaster, they spare for no cost, but lay on load enough.¹ This well appeared, and still doth appear, in burning the poor patient Christians, whom because they see to be destitute of power and strength to resist them, and content with patience to receive whatsoever is put unto them, there they play the lions, and make no end of burning and persecuting. But where they spy themselves to be overmatched, or fear to receive a foil in presuming too far, there they keep in, and can stay the execution of their laws and bulls, be they never so apostolical, till they spy their time convenient for their purpose, as in this case is evident for all the world to see. For notwithstanding that the pope's bull, coming down with full authority for restitution of abbey lands, did so thunder out most terrible excommunication, not only against them which detained any such lands, but also against all others that did not see the pope's commandment to be executed; yet neither Winchester, nor any of all the pope's clergy, would greatly stir in that matter, perceiving the nobility to be too strong for them to match withal;² and therefore were contented to let the case fall, or at least to stay for a time, while time might better serve them.

Yea, and moreover, under a crafty pretence that the nobility and men of lands, at the first coming out of the bull, should not be exasperated too much against them, they subtilly abused the pulpits, and dissembled with the people; affirming that the said pope's late bull, set forth in print, for restitution of abbey lands, was not meant for England, but for other foreign countries: whereas, in very deed, the meaning of that bull was only for England, and no country else, as both by this intimation of queen Mary here mentioned, and by many other conjectures, and also by master Feckenham's ballet of "Caveat emptor," may appear; whereby it is easy for all men to understand what the purpose of those men was to do, if time, which they observed, might have served their devotion.

But to let this matter pass of the pope's bull, the time now serveth to entreat of pope Julius's death, forsomuch as he made his end about the latter end of this foresaid month of March. Concerning the deeds and acts of which pope, to make a full declaration, it were not so much tedious to the reader, as horrible to all good ears.³ Under this Julius flourished the archbishop of Benevento, a Florentine, named John de la Casa, dean of the pope's chamber, and chief legate to the Venetians; who, well declaring the fruit of that filthy see, so

Mary.

A. D.
1555.The
pope's
bull for
restitution
of
abbey
lands.False dis-
sembling
in the
pope's
catholic
church.Feck-
enham's
ballet of
'Caveat
emptor.'The death
of pope
Julius the
Third.

(1) Note the nature of the papists: where they can overcome, they are lions; where they are overmatched, they play the foxes.

(2) Here lacked no good will in the bishops, but time as yet did not serve them.

(3) Read more of this in a book called A Warning to England.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

†
Note here
what a
holy ca-
tholic
church
this is.

far forgot both honesty and nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthiest immorality himself, and to boast openly of the same; but also took upon him most impudently in Italian metre,¹ to all men's ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of a certain nameless iniquity, saying, that he himself never used other: and this book was printed at Venice by one Trajanus Nævus. And yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameless beastliness, even under his nose in his own chamber; who could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in christian books.

A porkish
pope.

Mon-
strous
blasphemy
in the
pope.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of this foresaid pope, in his Jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto,² this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished of his physician to abstain from all swine's flesh, for that it was noisome for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsel; the physician afterward gave warning to his steward or orderer of his diet, that he should set no more pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service: "Where," said he, "is my pork?" And when his steward had answered, that his physician had forbidden any pork to be served; then the pope, bursting out into a great rage, saith these words; "Bring me," said he, "my pork-flesh, al dispetto di Dio," that is to say in English, "in the despite of God."

Pope Ju-
lius blas-
phemeth
God for a
peacock.
O vocem
Anti-
christo
dignam!

At another time, he, sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched, "Keep," said he, "this cold peacock for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden; for I shall have guests." So when supper came, and, amongst other hot peacocks, he saw not his cold peacock brought to his table, the pope, after his wonted manner, most horribly blaspheming God, fell into an extreme rage, etc.; whereupon one of his cardinals, sitting by, desired him, saying, "Let not your holiness, I pray you, be so moved with a matter of so small weight." Then this Julius the pope, answering again, "What," said he, "if God was so angry for an apple, that he cast our first parents out of paradise for the same, why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, since a peacock is a greater matter than an apple."³ Behold here, good reader, by this

See
Appendix

(1) Vide scriptum Pauli Vergerii contra hunc Archiepisc. [See Riveti "Jesuita Vapulans," cap. iii. § 8; also Jewel's "Defence of the Apology," Part IV. chap. iii. divis. 1. There is some doubt as to this book. See a note upon Sleidan, lib. xxi. vol. iii. p. 154. Francorf. 1786.—Ed.]

(2) The patronage, which pope Julius thought fit to exercise towards this renowned idol, was strongly reprobated by Vergerio, bishop of Capo d'Istria, in his tract, "De idolo Lauretano, quod Julium III. Rom. Episc. non puidit approbare: Vergerius Italice scripsit, Ludovicus ejus nepos vertit anno 1556." In a tablet, which in Vergerio's time was affixed to the wall at the entrance into the Holy Cottage, it is asserted that the apostles were accustomed to perform divine offices in it; that St. Luke made an image of the Virgin, which remains there to this very day, ("quæ ibi est usque hodie" are the words used); that angels removed the chapel, after having conveyed it through the air from the Holy Land, from spot to spot,—first on occasion of the robbers, with which the country was infested, and then, a second time, because of the excessive quarrellings ("maximas discordias") which were excited by the large receipts—to its present and final resting-place. The inhabitants were unable to account for its appearance amongst them, and were afraid that without any foundation the chapel would soon fall into ruins; but in the year 1290 (according to the tablet) the Virgin appeared herself in a dream to a holy brother, and acquainted him with all the circumstances connected with the building; upon which it was determined to send an embassy of sixteen respectable men into the Holy Land to visit the old site; and they found and reported that the old foundations answered exactly to the building, which had arrived at Recanati, etc. etc. "All this and much more, hardly to be matched," says Vergerio, "by the tales of the Koran or the Talmud, was considered as deserving or needing a long refutation," which it has fully received from his lively pen: see "Vergerii Opera adversus Papatum;" Tubingæ, 1563, ff. 309—59; or "Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles," vol. ii. p. 666, edit. 1671. The "Tractatus de Ede Lauretanâ" was printed at Venice, 1499. See Maittaire, Annales Typogr. vol. i. p. 696.—Ed.

(3) These anecdotes are included in "Wolfii Lectiones Memorabiles;" vol. ii. p. 639. Edit. Francorf. 1671.—Ed.

pope, the holiness of that blasphemous see: and yet thou shalt see here what affection was borne to this pope here in England, by the diriges, hearses, and funerals, commanded to be had and celebrated in all churches by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following:

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

A Letter from the Bishop of Winchester (being Lord Chancellor) unto Bonner, Bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the Pope's Funeral.

See
Appendix.

After my hearty commendations to your good lordship: The king and queen's majesties having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm, as also these prayers (which I send you herein inclosed), used at mass times in all places at this time of vacation; and therefore willed me to signify their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own diocese, and sending word to the rest of the bishops, to do the like in theirs. Thus doubting not but that your lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time, as shall be necessary, I bid your lordship heartily well to fare.

From my house at Esher, the 10th of April, 1555.

Your lordship's assured friend and brother,

Stephanus Winton, Cancell.

Prayers commanded to be used in the Funeral Masses for the Pope,
"apostolica sede vacante."

Supplici te, Domine, humilitate deprecemur, ut tua immensa pietas Sacrosanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ concedat pontificem illum, qui et pro in nos studio semper tibi gratus, et tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit assidue ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum nostrum.

A collect
for the
pope.

Secreta.

Tuæ nobis, Domine, pietatis abundantia indulgeat, ut gratum majestati tuæ pontificem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ regimini præesse gaudeamus, per Dominum nostrum.

Post Communionem.

Preciosi corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine, sacramento refectos mirifica tuæ majestatis gratia de illius summi pontificis assumptione lætificet, qui et plebem tuam virtutibus instruat, et. fidelium mentes spiritualium aromatum odore perfundat, per Dominum nostrum.

Prayer for
choosing
the pope.

A WOMAN OF ST. MAGNUS'S IMPRISONED FOR NOT PRAYING FOR THE POPE.

Upon this commandment, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearses set up, and diriges sung for the said Julius in divers places; at which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus's church, at the bridge-foot in London, and there, seeing a hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant: and another that stood by said, that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him. "Nay," quoth she, "that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him." She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by, who, by and by, carried her unto the cage at London-bridge, and bade her cool herself there.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.A SPECTACLE FOR ALL CHRISTIANS TO BEHOLD, AND TO TAKE
HEED OF THE POPE'S BLASPHEMOUS DOCTRINE.

By many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our latter years, to embrace, and not violently to repugn against, the light of his gospel: as first, by preaching of his word; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible examples showed from time to time upon his adversaries.

A popish
parson
preaching
to his
parish-
ioners.

In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named Nightingal, parson of Crundal beside Canterbury; who, upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the third day of the said month of March, and year of our Lord aforesaid (rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of religion), began to make a sermon to his parishioners,

A terrible
example
of God's
severe
punish-
ment
upon
Nightingal,
parson of
Crundal
in Kent.

taking his theme out of the words of St. John: "He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him," etc. And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the bishops of this realm; saying, moreover, unto the people in this wise: "Now masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry; for the prodigal son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past: I was before my lord cardinal Pole's grace, and he hath made me as free from sin, as I was at the font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I thank him for it) the same unto you, and I will tell you what it is."—And so reading the pope's bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding, moreover, that he believed, that by the virtue of that bull he was as clean from sin, as that night that he was born:—and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. This was testified by Robert Austen of Cartham, who both heard and saw the same, and it is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

Blasphemy to
Christ's
gospel
punished.

JOHN AWCOCK, MARTYR.

In the beginning of April, and the second day of the said month, died in prison John Awcock, who after was buried in the fields; as the manner of the papists was to deny their christian burial to such as died out of their popish antichristian church.

Now, forasmuch as having passed the month of March, we are entered into the month of April, to set down in order, out of public records, what happened in the said month, here followeth to be noted: that the 1st day of April, A.D. 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent to apprehend Thomas Wodgat and William Maynard, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council. The 7th day of the said month, another letter was sent to the said sheriff for the apprehension of one Harwich, who went about, with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The 15th of April a letter was directed to sir Nicholas Hare, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine master Flower (alias

Branch) what he meant, by wearing about his neck written, “Deum time, *Mary.*
 idolum fuge;” and whom else he knew to wear the like : praying *A. D.*
 them also to speak to Bonner bishop of London, speedily to proceed *1555.*
 against him for his religion, according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute ; so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the furthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The 22d of April there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

The 29th of April, master Robert Hornebey, servant then to the lady Elizabeth, was convented before the council for his religion ; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

A Declaration of the Life, Examination, and Burning of George Marsh,

WHO SUFFERED MOST CONSTANT MARTYRDOM FOR THE PRO-
 FESSION OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST AT CHESTER,
 THE 24TH DAY OF APRIL, 1555.

The said George Marsh was born in the parish of Dean, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his parents ; who afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country, with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten : and then, God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies (leaving his household and children in good order), went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied, and much increased in learning and godly virtues, and was a minister of God’s holy word and sacraments, *Marsh first a farmer.*
 and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders ; as he himself *Made minister.*
 reporteth. In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God’s true religion, to the defacing of Antichrist’s false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Dean, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by George Cotes, then bishop of Chester, in strait prison in Chester, within the precinct of the bishop’s house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends ; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were, that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop ; as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following. *Cotes bishop of Chester, a persecutor of Marsh.*

The Handling, Entreating, and Examination of George Marsh, being sent first by the Earl of Derby to Dr. Cotes, Bishop of Chester.

On the Monday before Palm Sunday, which was the 12th day of March, it was told me at my mother’s house, that Roger Wrinstone, with other of master *See Appendix*

*Mary.***A. D.
1553.**

Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton; and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strait charge to Roger Ward and Robert Marsh, to find and bring me to master Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, etc.

Marsh advertised by his friends to fly.

I, knowing this, by relation of divers of my friends, was diversely affected; my mother, and other my friends advertising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the meanwhile had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his holy Spirit, I never will) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after troublous and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

Marsh in a perplexity whether to fly or to tarry.

This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened: to whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled so away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I, being thus with their advice and counsel, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying I would come again at evening.

He consulteth with God.

In the mean time I ceased not, by earnest prayer, to ask and seek counsel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts), and of other my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Dean Moor, about sun going-down: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer, kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my friend, said, I doubted not but God (according as our prayer and trust was) would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

His brethren charged to seek him.

This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of master Barton's servants seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, straitly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smirhill the next day; who, being so charged, were gone to seek me in Adderton, or elsewhere I know not. Thus, intending afore to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Dean Church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

The marvellous providence of God in staying Marsh.

So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read nor yet looked on, who said this: my friend's advice was, that I should in no wise fly; but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose words I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether was better, to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to master Barton, who did seek for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind and conscience, afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and in quiet estate.

Marsh takes leave of his friends.

So betimes in the morning I arose, and after I had said the English Litany (as my custom was), with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bed-side, I prepared myself to go toward Smirhill: and as I was going thitherward, I went into the houses of Harry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Rafe Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson; desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children: for (as I supposed) they should not see my face any more before the last day; and so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parties, and came to Smirhill about nine of the clock, and

Voluntarily offereth himself to his enemies.

presented myself afore master Barton; who showed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh, to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit with other special friends which I had there at the same time, to master Barton, that he would take some one of them, or them all, bound by recognizance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said earl or his said council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home: but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes, and so, praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping; and so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and a half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock at afternoon.

Then was I called by Roger Mekinson to come to my lord and his council, and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present sir William Norris, sir Pierce Leigh, master Sherburn the parson of Grappenhall, master More, with others; where when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name: I answered, "Marsh."

Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people: which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me. But that I could not know.

Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest; I said, "No." Then he asked me what had been my living. I answered I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my lord to his council, "This is a wonderful thing. Afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one." I answered, "By the laws now used in this realm (as far as I do know) I am none."

Then they asked me who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all. I answered I received orders of the bishops of London and Lincoln.

Then said they one to another, "Those be of these new heretics;" and asked me what acquaintance I had with them. I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience. I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again. Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grappenhall said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised.

Then they asked me what my belief was. I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is to wit, the creed commonly called "Apostolorum," the creed of Nice council, of Athanasius, and of Augustine and Ambrose do teach. And after a few words, the parson of Grappenhall said, "But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?" I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood, with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ (said I) is ever present with his sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced of the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ, and that the sacrament, whether it were received or reserved, was the very body of Christ: whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had showed already; "for my knowledge is imperfect," said I: desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good christian man.

So, after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remem-

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Marsh
taketh his
leave of
his mo-
ther.

Is brought
before the
earl of
Derby.

Examined
before
him.

Blas-
phemous
mouth of
the par-
son of
Grappenhall.

Marsh's
belief in the sacra-
ment.

Loth to
answer to
the ques-
tion of
transub-
stantiation.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Marsh
com-
manded
to write
his an-
swers.The earl
of Derby
com-
mandeth
Marsh to
prison.

bering the saying of Paul, "Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife;" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before: whereat he, being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying I should not choose but do it.

Then I took the pen and wrote, that further I knew not: whereat he, being sore grieved, after many threatenings, said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent-clothes; and, that done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

Another Examination of George Marsh before the Earl of Derby.

Marsh
again ex-
amined
about the
sacra-
ment.Yet keep-
eth him-
self close.Marsh
troubled
in his con-
science
for being
no more
bold,
touching
the sacra-
ment.
Prayeth
for more
boldness.

On Palm Sunday, after dinner, I was sent for to my lord and his council (saving sir William Norris and sir Pierce Leigh were not then present in place), amongst whom was sir John Biron, and the vicar of Prescott. So they examined me yet once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescott a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my lord and his council with me, saying: that answer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescott, I would be conformable in other things. So, after many fair words, he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

And so, after much other communication, I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved: for hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid myself out of their hands, if by any means, without open denying of Christ and his word, that could be done.

This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I were not spoiled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

Again
examined
before the
bishops'
chaplains
about the
mass; al-
legations
against it.

And so, after a day or two, I was sent for to the vicar of Prescott, and the parson of Grappenhall; where our most communication was concerning the mass: and he asked what offended me in the mass. I answered, the whole mass did offend me; first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv., and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place thereof: and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them.

Sacrifi-
cium
missæ;
quid sit.

They said, "sacrificium" or "oblatio" did not in the mass signify any thing else, than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and showed me where, in some places of the mass, was written, "sacrificium laudis." Whereto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was

not a sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people; for that did Christ, by his own passion, once offer on the cross: whereas the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living: and that the commixion of the body and blood of Christ, was health both of body and soul. The vicar answered, that was to be understood of the commixion of Christ's body and blood with his church or people. So, after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true catholic church (which, as they meant, was the Romish church), I departed, not consenting unto them.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Sacrifice
of the
mass ex-
pounded
by the
papists.

So within a day or twain came to me master More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of king Henry the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those articles: for then I did against mine own conscience: and so he departed.

The arti-
cles of
Crome's
recanta-
tion
brought
to Marsh.

So within a short space after, which was on Shere-Thursday, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, my lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straightways.

Four
popish ar-
ticles for
Marsh to
subscribe
to.

The first was, whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution, and, with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

1. Mass.

The second, whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine, after the words of consecration, into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

2. Tran-
substan-
tiation

Thirdly, whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

3. Receiv-
ing in one
kind.

Fourthly, whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

4. Con-
fession.

These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions with mine answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay people, by Christ's institution, ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though confession auricular were a commodious mean to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

Marsh
denieth
the arti-
cles.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss; and much counselled me to follow the catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered, my faith in Christ conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature, whatsoever he were; desiring them to speak to my lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so, after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

Marsh
exhorted
to the ca-
tholic
church.

Upon one of the Easter holidays master Sherburn and master More sent for me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in danger of life. Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things: with many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; for as for the Scriptures, master Sherburn confessed himself ignorant. I answered, that I believed and leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame. I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, My soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in the reverent fear of God.

Sherburn
and More
examin-
ers.God's
truth is
not to be
esteemed
by pros-
perity or
adversity.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Christ's
breaking
of bread
proveth
not the
receiving
under one
kind.Marsh
forsaketh
kindred,
altogether
to stick to
Christ.Alphon-
sus' book
brought
to Marsh.*See
Appendix.*Marsh's
reasons
of it.Marsh
carried to
Lancaster
castle.

Then master More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of Luke xxiv. and Acts xx., where was but mention of breaking of bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the sacrament but under one kind. That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament, both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution.

So, after much communication of that matter, master Sherburn said, it was great pity that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions. I answered as afore I had done to my lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loth to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take myself (said I) for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me. And so, after I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

Master More, after this, brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the church of Rome, which he called Christ's true church, had been troubled since Christ's time; willing me to read and take counsel of that book: and appointed me a place, where this author did write against them that say, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pellican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed, contrary to the same; using for his strongest and surest arguments, the consent, agreement, and determination of the Romish church. So, within a few days, master More came to me again, asking me how I liked the book. I said the author of the book did in all points, being a papist, allow the rites and abuses of the Romish church: and showed him further, that this author, without authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay people receiving of this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self, that Christ's church, nine hundred years after Christ, used the contrary.

So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the catholic faith; stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as, I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-wilfulness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the fear of God: and desired him to speak to my lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me but short answer. Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life; saying, I am sure God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

I continued still in ward until Low Sunday, and after dinner my keeper, Richard Scot, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster; and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my lord's servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, unto Richard Adderton's, and somewhat further; counselling and persuading like as is aforesaid. To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying; If I knew mine own opinion to be good, I did well: and so they departed, willing my bringers to entreat me honestly.

My bringers by the way showed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me : and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me being loose, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

*Mary*A. D.
1555.

The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the jailor, who brought me into the highest prison, where I do remain.

After that, the said George came to Lancaster castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hands with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had this communication with him as here followeth :

Marsh to
hold up
his hand.

Communication between George Marsh and the Earl of Derby.

I said unto my lord, I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother ; but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his lordship.

He said to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London ; and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London ; and asked me into what land I would have gone.

I answered, I would have gone either into Almain, or else into Denmark. He said to his council—in Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England ; but as for Almain, he said, the emperor had destroyed them.

The earl
of Derby
chargeth
the realm
of Den-
mark of
heresy.

So, after such like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his lordship, being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith toward God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me, for embracing the same with so good a conscience.

He answered, that he, with the lord Windsor and lord Dacres, with one more, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those acts ; and that the nay of them four would be to be seen, as long as the parliament-house stood. Then my lord did rehearse the evil luck of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion ; and again the good hap and prosperity of the queen's highness, because she favoured the true religion : thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil ; and said, that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.

Lords
who, in
king Ed-
ward's
time,
agreed not
to the
acts of
religion.

George Marsh to the Reader.

Forsomuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there be divers and sundry reports and opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaster (as by credible persons I am informed), some saying it was only because I would not do open penance ; and some, because I could not agree with my lord and his council concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, and the manner of Christ's presence there ; some because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christ's institution, the lay-people to receive the said sacrament under the one kind only : I thought it good, dearly beloved in Christ, and my bounden duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf ; and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning religion, whereof they did examine me : howbeit I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked

Mary. by them, and answered by me afore and after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this: telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept in good worth this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, that God will assist us with his Holy Spirit; and that we may with boldness confess his holy name; and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end, Amen.

A. D.
1555.

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marsh sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaster, testified and written with his own hand, whereto he addeth moreover, and saith:

While I was (saith he) in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Others said, that it was reported amongst my lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

Peter's
counsel to
Christ to
save him-
self.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this session, many came to me to talk with me: some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such like counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, 'Master, favour thyself; this thing shall not be unto thee.' But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about, and said unto Peter, 'Come after me, Satan;' and, perceiving that they were a hinderance unto me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer; that I neither could, nor would, follow their counsel, but that by God's grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word; but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

Marsh
followeth
Christ's
answer to
Peter.

Priests
not
always
the great-
est clerks.

Some others, yea even strangers also, came to me far unlike to these, who, after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous estate, giving me comfortable words and some money too; and resorted to me oftentimes, for the space of two, three, or four days. There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six at once, whose mouths it was a thing easy enough to stop; for the priests (which is much to be lamented) be not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God. At their departing they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying, they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me master Westby, master Ashton of Hill, master Ashton of Chatterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort; unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience; for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request and prayer before, (everlasting thanks be given him there-for!) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar, amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them, so long as they would suffer me.

Marsh
strengthen-
ed in
prison
with the
boldness
of God's
spirit.

They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole mess of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion; and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's grace, to show who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was, indeed, a false forged lie of some wicked wretches). After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow Warbarton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly towards night: and we read

Marsh re-
proved for
his loud
praying
and read-
ing in pri-
son. War-
barton,
his fellow-
prisoner.

all these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the windows, and hear us read; wherewith others being offended, complained.

*Mary.**A. D.
1555.*

All this while George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Dr. Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester. Of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marsh reporteth himself as followeth:

*See
Appendix.*

How the Bishop came to Lancaster, and of his Doings there, in setting up Idolatry.

The bishop, being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry; as holy-water-casting, procession-gadding, mattins-mumbling, children-confirming,¹ mass-hearing, idols up-setting, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no gospel-preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for me and examine me; which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily: so hasty in judgment, and calling men heretics, are our bishops in their lordly dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned; contrary to the express commandment of God's word, which saith, "Condemn no man, before thou hast tried out the truth of the matter; and when thou hast made inquisition, then reform righteously. Give no sentence before thou hast heard the cause, but first let men tell out their tale: and he that giveth sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a fool, and worthy to be confounded."

The bi-
shop's
coming to
Lancas-
ter, and
setting up
idolatry.

The bi-
shop
judgeth
Marsh
to be an
heretic,
before he
heareth
him.

And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the jailor, and rebuked him because he suffered one to fare so well; willing to have me more strictly kept and dieted: but if his lordship were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

The un-
merciful
straitness
of the bi-
shop.

Also he, and his chaplains and chancellor, did find fault with the school-master and others, for speaking to me, as to a most heinous heretic, and also with the jailor for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those religious fathers show to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits (as Christ saith), no man can judge such for any other, but for very enemies to Christ and his true religion. God lay it never to their charges; but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will!

The school-
master of
Lancaster
rebuked
for com-
ing to
Marsh in
prison.

But it is no new thing for the bishops to persecute the truth, and the prophets of the Lord for their constancy in preaching of the true faith; for so did their Pharisaeal forefathers, if ye mark well the histories of the holy Bible. Pashur² was the head bishop of the temple, the ring-leader of false prophets, the chief heretic-taker; that is as much as to say, the out-thruster of true godliness. After that the dignity of priesthood was given unto him, he abused it; for he taught not, neither reprov'd by the word, but feared the godly with cruelty. He not only struck, but also imprisoned, the holy prophet Jeremy; though he withstood him not, but presently looked for the help of God, steadfastly preaching the truth of God.

Popish bi-
shops
enemies
to God's
word.
Examples
of perse-
cuting bi-
shops in
the old
time.

What mischief the ungracious bishop Jason wrought among the Jews, destroying all godliness, and setting up abominable idolatrous laws, ye may read in 2 Mac. iv. How the execrable and blind bishops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never spake the truth of God themselves, unless it were against their wills, unwittingly, to their utter destruction—how (I say) they pressed the truth in Christ and his apostles, is so well known that I need not to rehearse it.

Bishop
Jason.

Bishop
Annas
and Caiaphas.

And thus much hitherto concerning the prisonment of George Marsh, and his examinations before the earl of Derby and his deputies above named. Now proceeding further in the troublesome perse-

(1) As the Romish church continues to this day the idolatry of the mass, which ought to be made a service tending to God's glory, so it appears that even the holy rite of Confirmation was made an offence to some, in the manner in which it was administered.—Ed.

(2) Jer. xx. 1.

Mary. cution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the latter part of his troubles and examinations which followed under the bishop of the same diocese, which was Dr. Cotes ; the effect whereof, being drawn out of his own writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

A. D.
1555.

THE TROUBLES AND EXAMINATION OF GEORGE MARSH, UNDER
DOCTOR COTES, BISHOP OF CHESTER.

*See
Appendix.*

Ye heard before, how George Marsh, being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterward translated unto Lancaster, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster ; and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but they twain ; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament : who made such answers as the bishop seemed therewith to be content, saving that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution ; in which points the bishop went about to persuade him : howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal church of Rome ; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again. And after, being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench the schoolmaster, one Hensham the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more ; who, with all probability of words and philosophy, or worldly wisdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Christ (as it were all singing one song), went about to persuade him to submit himself to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that church did ; with many such like arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

Great labour to make Marsh recant.

The church apostolic, and one.

The nature, condition, and notes of the true church.

To whom the said George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one ; because it ever hath, doth, and shall, confess and believe one only God, and him only worship ; and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation : which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith ; and that this church is universal and catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men ; and that this church is builded only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone ; and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

Also those of the false church.

And whereas they said, the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more ; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees ;

neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers, neither had any supremacy over empires and kingdoms: but that it was a little poor silly flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as sheep without a shepherd in the midst of wolves, or as a flock of orphans and fatherless children; and that this church was led and ruled by the only laws, counsels, and word of Christ, he being the Supreme Head of this church, and assisting, succouring, and defending her from all assaults, errors, troubles, and persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

He showed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt; by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of Scripture, that this church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtlety, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, where-against all his adversaries were not able to resist.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE OF GEORGE MARSH BEFORE DR. COTES, BISHOP OF CHESTER.

Now, after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, etc., he caused him to be brought forth into a chapel, in the cathedral church of Chester, called Our Lady Chapel, before him the said bishop, at two o'clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, Dr. Wall, and other priests assisting him, placed not far from the said bishop, but somewhat lower; George Wensloe, chancellor, and one John Chetham, registrar, sat directly over against the said bishop.

Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Bury, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the year last preceding, directly against the pope's authority and catholic church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, "as," he said, "all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late king Edward the Sixth."

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him

Mary. answer directly, yea or nay, without circumstance ; for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

A. D.
1555.

The
bishop's
clergy
more able
to ex-
amine
than to
dispute.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said king Edward : whose answers were every one noted and written by the registrar, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his prison again.

THE LAST AND FINAL APPEARANCE OF GEORGE MARSH
BEFORE THE SAME.

The chan-
cellor's
oration.

Within three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said chapel, and in like sort as before, the said bishop and others before named there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by his keeper and others with bills and divers weapons before them ; where, first, the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who, even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep ; so his lordship had sent for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in showing his charitable disposition toward the said Marsh, to reduce him from his naughty heresies ; but all that he could do would not help ; so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life : and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be (after the sentence given) too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Inter-
rogatories
put to
Marsh.

Then the said chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the bishop's diocese ? To the which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at Dean parish in Lancashire, and there abode ? And he answered, "Yea." Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he made in that place at his former examination ; and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same, or no ? To the which he answered again, "Yea, yea."

Note here
the great
heresy of
Marsh !

"How say ye then to this ?" quoth the chancellor.—"In your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical heresies you said, that the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine, the doctrine of the true church ; and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church."

"I so said indeed," quoth Marsh, "and I believe it to be true." Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus,¹ and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men, and

(1) Argument. Linus and Anacletus were good men : *ergo* the pope is the supreme head of all churches !

he answered, "Yes, and divers others; but," said he, "they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not," quoth he, "with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine; which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ."

"Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then," said the bishop. "In what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?" To whom George Marsh answered and said, "O my Lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things the church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For whereas Christ, in the institution thereof, did as well deliver the cup, as the bread, saying, 'Drink ye all of this;' and Mark reporteth, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the same sort also was it used in the primitive church by the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point."

Marsh.
A. D.
1555.

Wherein
the
church of
Rome
erretth.

Then said the bishop, "Non disputandum est cum hæretico,"¹ that is, "There is no disputing with a heretic." And therefore when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; "being as they were," said he, "full of heresy, or else forsake them, and come unto the catholic church."

To whom he made this full answer, and said, that he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kind of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy), that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion than was by law most godly established and publicly taught in England at the death of king Edward the Sixth; and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die.—And here the chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his presence did him no good.

Marsh
cleareth
himself of
heresy.

Leach bid
to stand
from
Marsh.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, "Good my lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again:" and so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many other of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant; and, amongst others, one Pulleyn a shoe-maker, said to him, "For shame, man, remember thyself, and recant." They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him: so they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

Sentence
of con-
demna-
tion read.

The
bishop
stayeth in
his sen-
tence.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time; and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he

(1) So saith the Turk in his Alcoran, that no man must dispute of his law.

Mary. durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

A. D.
1555.

God's
mercy
preferred
before the
queen's.

Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines, and there again the chancellor with a glavinging and smiling countenance called to the bishop, and said, "Yet, good, my lord, once again stay; for if that word be spoken, all is past, no relenting will then serve." And the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, "I would stay; and if it would be!"

Another
stay in
reading
the sen-
tence.

"How sayest thou," quoth he, "wilt thou recant?" Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, "I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my master Christ; and so again he should deny me, before his Father in heaven."

A dogged
saying of
the
bishop.
Marsh
delivered
to the
sheriffs,
to strait
keeping.

So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and strait after said unto him, "Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a dog." And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his lordship: and after this the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him, "Farewell, good George," with weeping tears, which caused the officers to carry him to a prison at the North-gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature.

Brotherly
zeal of
good men
comfort-
ing
Marsh.

For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst enterprize so to do for fear of accusation: and some of the citizens who loved him in God, for the gospel's sake (whereof there were but a few), although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city (that went into the said dark prison), call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well; and thanked God most highly, that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings at another time; for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

See
Appendix.

Amry and
Cooper,
sheriffs of
Chester.

When the time and day appointed came¹ that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Cooper, with their officers and a great number of poor simple barbers with rusty bills and pole-axes, went to the North-gate, and there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution), to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, whereby they

Marsh led
to his
martyr-
dom.

might, as they thought, be saved : but Marsh said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with money ; but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand, looking upon the same ; and many of the people said, " This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die."

*Mary.**A.D.*
*1555.*Marsh
refuseth
to receive
money.

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Vawdrey, being then deputy chamberlain of Chester, showed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same (and said further that he loved the queen); but, forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he could not receive it upon that condition.

Marsh re-
fuseth the
queen's
pardon.

After that, he began to speak to the people, showing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, " George Marsh, we must have no sermoning now." To whom he said, " Master, I cry you mercy:" and so kneeling down made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt, and then was he chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same over his head; and by reason the fire was unskilfully made, and that the wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

Not suf-
fered to
speak to
the peo-
ple.The mar-
tyrdom of
Marsh at
Chester.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, that when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him unneth could see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead; notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his arms, saying, " Father of heaven, have mercy upon me!" and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Patience
of the
blessed
martyr.

Upon this, many of the people said, that he was a martyr, and died marvellous patiently and godly: which thing caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, that the said Marsh was a heretic, burnt like a heretic, and was a fire-brand in hell.

In recompense of this his good and charitable sermon, within short time after, the just judgment of God appeared upon the said bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was gendered, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voice of the people is not always to be followed. Notwithstanding, such a report went in all men's mouths, that he died of a disgraceful disease. Whereupon, whether he died so or no, I am not certain, neither dare lean too much upon public speech: albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his secret friends and certain aldermen for stopping the rumour of the people, this maidenly priest and bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance which declared but small virginity in him, and that the rumour was not raised up altogether upon nought amongst the people. But of this I will stay, and proceed no further; not because more

God's just
revenging
hand
upon a
persecut-
ing
bishop.*See*
Appendix.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in defacing these men, as they are cruel in condemning God's servants to death.¹

This good man, George Marsh, wrote divers and sundry letters out of prison, besides his examinations, as before ye have heard: touching the which his examinations, this letter first he sendeth to his friends, the copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter of George Marsh to the Reader, touching the Matter of his Examination.

Here have you, dearly beloved friends in Christ, the chief and principal articles of christian doctrine briefly touched, which heretofore I have both believed, professed, and taught; and as yet do believe, profess, and teach; and am surely purposed, by God's grace, to continue in the same until the last day. I do want both time and opportunity to write out at large the probations, causes, parts, effects, and contraries or errors of these articles, which whoso desireth to know, let them read over the common places of the godly learned men, Philip Melancthon and Erasmus Sarcerius, whose judgment in these matters of religion, I do chiefly follow and lean unto. The Lord give us understanding in all things, and deliver us from this present evil world, according to his will and pleasure, and bring us again out of this hell of affliction, into which it hath pleased the merciful Lord to throw us down; and deliver us out of the month of the lion, and from all evil doing, and keep us unto his everlasting and heavenly kingdom. Amen.

Though Satan be suffered as wheat to sift us for a time, yet faileth not our faith through Christ's aid, but that we are at all times able and ready to confirm the faith of our weak brethren, and always ready to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us; and that with meekness and reverence, having a good conscience; that whereas they backbite us as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused our good conversation in Christ.² I thought myself now of late years, for the cares of this life, well settled with my loving and faithful wife and children, and also well quieted in the peaceable possession of that pleasant Euphrates, I do confess it: but the Lord, who worketh all things for the best to them that love him, would not there leave me, but did take my dear and beloved wife from me; whose death was a painful cross to my flesh.

Marsh
curate to
Laurence
Saunders.

Also I thought myself now of late well placed under my most loving and most gentle master Laurence Saunders, in the cure of Langton. But the Lord of his great mercy would not suffer me long there to continue (although for the small time I was in his vineyard, I was not all an idle workman): but he hath provided me, I perceive it, to taste of a far other cup; for by violence hath he yet once again driven me out of that glorious Babylon, that I should not taste too much of her wanton pleasures, but with his most dearly beloved disciples to have my inward rejoicing in the cross of his Son Jesus Christ; the glory of whose church, I see it well, standeth not in the harmonious sound of bells and organs, nor yet in the glistening of mitres and copes, neither in the shining of gilt images and lights (as the blind papists do judge it), but in continual labours and daily afflictions for his name's sake.

The glory
of the
church
standeth
not in
outward
shows.

God, at this present here in England, hath his fan in his hand; and after his great harvest, whereinto these years past he hath sent his labourers, is now sifting the corn from the chaff, and purging his floor, and ready to gather the wheat into his garner, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.

Take heed and beware of the leaven of the Scribes and of the Sadducees: I mean the erroneous doctrine of the papists, which with their glosses deprave the Scriptures; for, as the apostle St. Peter doth teach us, there shall be false

(1) The history is given more in detail in the First Edition, but from many indelicate and coarse expressions there used, one passage only is added: "Whereat one Brassy, being the coroner, and no heretic by the Romish profession, said with an oath, that surely the fact was so; for he, before that time, had taken the view of a mariner, who died upon the like disease, and, in every case, had such evident sores and tokens as the bishop had. More, particularly, might be said touching the last tragedy of this bishop, etc., but shamefacedness calleth back." See Edition 1563, p. 1122. — Ed.

(2) 1 Pet. iii.

teachers amongst us, which privily shall bring in damnable sects : and saith, that many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of, and that through covetousness they shall with feigned words make merchandize of us. And Christ earnestly warneth us, to beware of false prophets, which come to us in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves. By their fruits you shall know them. The fruits of the prophets are their doctrine. In this place are all we Christians taught, that we should try the preachers, and others that come under colour to set forth true religion unto us, according to the saying of St. Paul, "Try all things, and choose that which is good." Also the evangelist St. John saith, "Believe not every spirit ; but prove the spirits, whether they be of God or not : for many false prophets," saith he, "are gone out into the world." Therefore if thou wilt know the true prophets from the false, try their doctrine by the true touch-stone, which is the word of God : and as the godly Bereans did, search ye the Scriptures, whether those things which be preached unto you, be even so or not ; for else, by the outward conversation of them, ye may easily be deceived : "Desunt fortassis aliqua."

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

This¹ George Marsh was also curate of Laughton in Leicestershire, of which master Saunders was the parson. He was learned, godly, and diligent in his office. He played not the hireling, as many hired parish priests did in those days, but, like the faithful servant of a full faithful Shepherd, kept his sheep from the poisonous infection of the popish wolves, by sound and diligent teaching. And when tyranny, with force, prevailed, then, by patient suffering, he vanquished their fury, and, by suffering death, as ye have heard, he confirmed his sheep and people in the truth taught.

A Letter Exhortatory of George Marsh, to the faithful Professors of Laughton.

Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Laughton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas, did the Antiochians), that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord ;² and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, God be thanked, ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor master Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, which now, when persecution ariseth because of the word,³ do not fall away like shrinking children and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been preachers ; but are prest and ready, for your sakes, which are Christ's mystical body,⁴ to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life (I do mean, their native countries, friends, livings, etc.) : but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers ; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed for the name of the Lord Jesus.⁵

Whether of these—being that good salt of the earth,⁶ that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness, now when they be proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution ;—or others, being that unsavoury salt which hath lost his saltness ; that is to wit, those ungodly ministers, which do fall from the word of God unto the dreams and traditions of Antichrist : whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

True salt discerned from the corrupt and unsavoury salt.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 1122.—En

(4) Rom. i.

(2) Acts xi.

(5) Acts xxi.

(3) Luke viii.

(6) Matt. v.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness, that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls: and see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word;¹ whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his house on a rock; that when the great rain descended, and the floods came and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock:² this is to wit, that when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world with all the mighty princes thereof,³ with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth; being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan) cannot prevail.⁴

True receivers of the word, who they be.

Mortification and bearing of the cross, necessary for all them that will reign with Christ.

And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did:⁵ for the true followers of Christ and the apostles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord; as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesu must do:⁶ for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation.⁷ And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness' sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an example to comfort us:⁸ for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the cross of Christ and follow him, we cannot be his disciples; for if we deny to suffer with Christ and his saints, it is an evident argument, that we shall never reign with him:

And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecutions and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. "It is verily," saith the apostle,⁹ "a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled:" for after this life, the godly, being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest; whereas the wicked and ungodly, contrariwise, shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare and teach.¹⁰ These ought we to have before our eyes always; that in the time of adversity and persecution (whereof all that will be the children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to put some of us in ure already), we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endeavor even unto the end, that we may be saved.¹¹ For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, will endeavour ourselves to please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness, which the Lord that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming.¹²

Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls,¹³ and ground ourselves on the sure rock Christ. For, as the apostle saith, "other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every man's work shall appear, for the day shall declare it, and it shall be showed in the fire. And the fire shall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon, abide, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he shall be safe himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire."¹⁴

Fire, in Scripture, what it signifyeth.

By fire here doth the apostle understand persecution and trouble; for they which do truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver are tried in the fire. By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of persecution abide steadfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are

(1) James ii.

(5) 1 Thess. ii.

(9) 2 Thess. i.

(13) James i.

(2) Matt. vii.

(6) 2 Tim. iii.

(10) Luke xvi.

(14) 1 Cor. 3.

(3) Psalm ii.

(7) Acts xiv.

(11) Heb. xii.

(4) Matt. xvi.

(8) Matt. v. vii. Mark viii.

(12) 1 Tim. 2.

meant such, as in time of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in time of persecution stand steadfastly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if so be that they go back and swerve when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost; but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, do abide fast in the faith.¹

Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed, that ye as living stones be builded upon this sure rock, and be made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ.² For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel.³ We are also a holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations; for the sacrifices of the New Testament are spiritual, and of three manners. The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; which St. Paul doth call the fruits of those lips which confess the name of God.⁴ The second is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hosea saith, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;"⁵ read also Matthew xxv. The third is, when we make our body a quick sacrifice, holy, and acceptable unto God; that is, when we mortify and kill our fleshly concupiscences and carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the apostle calleth "Our reasonable serving of God."⁶ And let us be sure, that unless we do now at this present take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are induced and brought to the knowledge of the truth; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threateneth unto the Jews⁷ shall happen unto us; that is to wit, the unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and infidelity or unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which, by the grace of God, was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall, to our utter destruction, return again unto us; and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again, and overcome, then is the latter end worse than the beginning; and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given to us.⁸ For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed, to wallowing in the mire."⁹ And thus to continue and persevere in infidelity, and to kick against the manifest and known truth, and so to die without repentance, and with a despair of the mercy of God in Jesus Christ, is to sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven, neither in this world, neither in the world to come.¹¹ "For it is not possible," saith St. Paul, "that they which were once lighted, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and have tasted of the good word of God, and of the power of the world to come; if they fall away, should be renewed again by repentance; forasmuch as they have, as concerning themselves, crucified the Son of God again, making a mocking of him."¹² St. Paul's meaning in this place is, that they that believe truly and unfeignedly God's word, do continue and abide steadfast in the known truth.

If any therefore fall away from Christ and his word, it is a plain token that they were but dissembling hypocrites, for all their fair faces outwardly, and never believed truly;¹³ as Judas, Simon Magus, Demas, Hymeneus, Philetus, and others were, which all fell away from the known verity, and made a mock of Christ: which St. Paul doth call here, to crucify Christ anew, because that they, turning to their old vomit again, did most blasphemously tread the benefits of Christ's death and passion under their feet. They that are such, can in no wise be renewed by repentance, for their repentance is fleshly, as the repentance of

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The place
of Paul
expound-
ed.

Three
sorts of
sacrifices
of the
New Tes-
tament.

Exhorta-
tion to
persist in
the word
of God,
and not to
abuse it.

The place
expound-
ed.

Falling
from
Christ.

To cruci-
fy Christ
anew,
what it is.

(1) 1 Cor. iii. Matt. v. Luke vi. Matt. iii. Psalm i. (2) 1 Pet. ii. 2 Cor. iii.
(3) 1 Pet. ii. (4) Heb. xiii. (5) Hos. vi (6) Rom. xii. (7) Ephes. iii.
(8) Matt. xiv. (9) 2 Pet. ii. (10) Prov. xxvi. (11) Matt. xiii. (12) Heb. vi.
(13) Matt. xxvi.

Mary. Cain, Saul, and Judas was; which, being without godly comfort, breedeth desperation unto death. These are not of the number of the elect: and, as St. John doth say, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have remained with us unto the end."¹ Also the apostle saith in another place. "If we sin willingly, after we have received the knowledge of the truth, there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a fearful looking for judgment and violent fire, which shall devour the adversaries."²

Wilful
kicking
against
open
known
truth.

They sin willingly,³ which of a set malice and purpose do withhold the truth in unrighteousness and lying, kicking against the manifest and open known truth, which although they do perfectly know that in all the world there is none other sacrifice for sin, but only that omni-sufficient sacrifice of Christ's death; yet, notwithstanding, they will not commit themselves wholly unto it, but rather despise it, allowing other sacrifices for sin, invented by the imagination of man (as we see by daily experience), unto whom, if they abide still in their wickedness and sin, remaineth a most horrible and dreadful judgment. This is that sin unto death, for which St. John would not that a man should pray.⁴

Sin unto
death.

Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us, on whom the ends of the world are come,⁵ take diligent heed unto ourselves, that now, in these last and perilous times, in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ, and the apostles have so much spoken,⁶ and given us so earnest forewarning, we withhold not the truth in unrighteousness,⁷ believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death: and as our Saviour Christ saith, "If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins."⁸ For unless we hold fast the word of life,⁹ both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall, with the unprofitable fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down,¹⁰ and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use:¹¹ and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts; that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone.¹² For the earth that drinketh in the rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God; but that ground that beareth thorns and briers, is reprov'd and is nigh unto cursing, whose end is to be burned.¹³

The fruit-
less fig-
tree.

The good
ground.

Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye, being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word, plenteously preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience.¹⁴ And be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which, although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh,¹⁵ and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they are offended; or, with the cares of this world and deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things, note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us, that be ministers, or professors, and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be saved.

Most part
of the
hearers
of God's
word are
but hypo-
crites.

To him
that hath
shall be
given,
and how.

Example
of God's
dealing
with
stubborn
children.

Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear: for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteousness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God: on the contrary part, they that do not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help towards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto

(1) 1 John ii. (2) Heb. x. (3) Rom. i. (4) 1 John v. (5) 1 Cor. x.
(6) Apoc. xxii. Matt. xxiv. (7) Rom. i. (8) John viii. (9) Phil. ii.
(10) Matt. iii. (11) Luke xiii. (12) Matt. xviii. (13) Heb. vi.
(14) Luke viii. James i. (15) Matt. xiii.

them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved,¹ and that ye, like very Gaderenites, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you; but that ye, with all diligence of mind, will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil doers, even unto bonds.² And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads.³ And as ye have had plenteous preaching of the gospel, more than others have had,—so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not and bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand, than others; and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain,⁴ but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually give yourselves unto all manner of good works; amongst the which the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates (since they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil) unless they command idolatry and ungodliness; that is to say, things contrary unto true religion: for, then ought we to say with Peter, "We ought more to obey God than man." But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

The weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit,⁵ which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with heart readie, rather to die than to do any ungodliness. Christ also doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea even the power of the wicked, which God causeth oftentimes to reign for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.⁶

We must also, by all means, be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority; and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.⁷ Secondly, We must obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms; and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the word of God.⁸ Thirdly, We must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them; for this is the Law and the Prophets."⁹ Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates; knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us: and by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain a hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.¹⁰

And thus I commend you,¹¹ brethren, unto God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified;¹² beseeching you to help master Saunders and me your late pastors, and all them that be in bonds for the gospel's sake,¹³ with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men; and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our christian brethren in the world; and

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The more preaching with less following, draweth greater vengeance at God's hand.

Praying for all estates. Forbearing our adversaries. Patience in suffering adversity and trouble.

(1) Heb. vi. Matt. vi.

(4) James ii. Gal. v. Tit. ii.

(6) Acts v. Ephes. vi. John xix. Job xxxv. Rom. xiii.

(8) Ephes. vi. 1 Tim. v.

(11) This letter was written the year before, in the month of June.

(13) Coloss. iv.

(2) Acts xiv. 2 Tim. i. 2 Tim. ii.

(5) Rom. xiii.

(7) 1 Pet. ii.

(9) Matt. vii.

(3) Acts xviii.

(10) 2 Pet. ii. Acts xx.

(12) Rom. xv.

Mary. that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life.¹
Amen.

A. D.
1555. Salute from me all the faithful brethren: and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen.

The 28th of June; by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner,

George Marsh.

Save yourselves from this untoward generation.² Pray, pray, pray: never more need.

Another Letter of the said George Marsh, to certain of his dearly beloved Friends at Manchester in Lancashire.

Grace be with you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit, and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ: these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak: for the battle is the Lord's.³ And as, in times past, God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands, even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. "For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee," saith God, "and will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." "Be strong and bold; neither fear nor dread: for the Lord thy God is with thee, whithersoever thou goest." "Now if God be on our side, who can be against us?"⁴

Adversaries not to be feared. God's help always ready with his servants.

Spiritual warfare.

In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain, either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yield himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand stedfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.⁵

A christian man's life is a perpetual warfare.

The manifold deliverances of Paul be examples for our comfort.

Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul; a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare. The valiant warrior St. Paul, being delivered from the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life: yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles, so that no man that invaded him, could do him any harm; and in the end he was compelled to say, "I have finished my course; the time of my departing is at hand; I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is best of all, most heartily desiring death."⁶

Persecution followeth christian godliness.

These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us; and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus the Captain and Finisher of our faith;⁷ and after his example, for the reward's sake that is set out unto us, patiently bear the cross and despise the shame. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesu, shall suffer persecution.⁸

(1) Phil. i. (2) Acts ii.

(3) Col. ii. Phil. ii. 1 Pet. iii. Matt. x. Luke xi.

(4) Josh. ii. Rom. viii.

(5) Ephes. vi. 2 Cor. xi. xii. Acts xxi.

(6) Acts xxviii. 2 Tim. iv. Phil. i. Rom. xv.

(7) Heb. xii.

(8) 2 Tim. iii.

Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God,¹ but Satan was, by and by, ready to tempt him; which thing *we* must look for also: yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us: whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred Scriptures, the word of God (which is our heavenly armour), and sword of the Spirit.² And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto us an example of sober living; not for the space of forty days³ (as the papists do fondly fancy of their own brains), but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life, assaulted of Satan, who, like a roaring lion, walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our utter destruction.⁴

Neither can the servants of God at any time come and stand before God; that is, lead a godly life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them;⁵ that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly: for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt and do mischief,⁶ unless he be forbidden of God: for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog: but we are more of price than many hogs before God, if we cleave unto his Son by faith.

Let us therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take unto us the shield of faith, wherewith we may be able to quench and overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked.⁷ Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand captain Christ. Let us fast and pray continually.⁸ For this frantic kind of devils goeth not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting, which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy; that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcase may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the Spirit; and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

This fast do the true Christians use all the days of their life, although among the common sort of people remaineth yet still that superstitious kind of fasting, which God so earnestly reproveth by his prophet Isaiah.⁹ For as for true chastening of the body, and abstaining from vice, with showing mercy towards our needy neighbours, we will neither understand nor hear of it, but still think, with the Jews, that we do God a great pleasure when we fast; and that we then fast, when we abstain from one thing, and fill our bellies with another. And verily in this point doth our superstition much exceed the superstition of the Jews; for we never read that they ever took it for a fast, to abstain from flesh, and to eat either fish or white-meat, as they call it.

To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy: and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required. First, that we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.¹⁰ Secondly, that we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reap little, and he that soweth plentifully, shall reap plentifully. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God, as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ;¹¹ insomuch that he affirmed with an oath, that she, of her penury, had added more to the offerings of God, than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind, as St. Paul saith, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not.¹² Thirdly, we must give without hypocrisy and ostentation; not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the Scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit or deserve any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth us

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The fast of Christ is to us example of sober living.

When the servants of God stand before him, Satan cometh also.

The shield of faith. The helmet of salvation. The sword of the spirit. Prayer and fasting.

True fast, what it is.

Abuse of fasting among Christians.

Mercy to the poor. In alms three things required.

Alms without ostentation.

(1) Matt. iii. 4.

(2) Ephes. vi.

(3) Matt. i.

(4) 1 Pet. v.

(5) Job i. 2.

(6) Matt. viii.

(7) Ephes. vi.

(8) Matt. iv. xvii.

(9) Isa lviii.

(10) 2 Cor. ix.

(11) Mark xvii.

(12) 2 Cor. viii.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Works of
mercy do
not merit
with God,
touching
our salva-
tion, any
thing.
Continual
prayer.

To be
faithful
in tempt-
ation.

He ex-
horteth to
zeal and
courage.

Straight
is the way
which the
elect must
walk in.

Death is
a door to
life.

If worldly
men jeo-
pard so
much for
earthly
things,
how
much
more
ought we,
for ever-
lasting
things!

in his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth up to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. "What hast thou," saith the apostle, "that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?"¹

This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing, but that which we have received, what can we deserve, or what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits? It cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear: where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm ourselves with continual prayer, a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon, and, after the example of Christ and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith, in all our distresses and anguishes. Let us go boldly to the seat of grace, where we shall be sure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need:² for now is pride and persecution increased; now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall so require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Remember Abraham. Was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph, in time of his trouble, kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt.³ Phineas was so fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Israel.⁴ Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received a heritage.⁵ David also, in his merciful kindness, obtained the throne of an everlasting kingdom.⁶ Elias being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael remained steadfast in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire.⁷ In like manner Daniel, being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the lions.

And thus ye may consider throughout all ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome.⁸ Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms: to-day are they set up, and to-morrow they are gone; for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourselves like men in the law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.⁹

Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven (as God teacheth by his prophet Esdras¹⁰) is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance is narrow and sudden (full of sorrow and travail, perils and labours): like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left; and as it were one straight path between them both, so small, that there could but one man go there. If this city now were given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and straight way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life, let us not stagger, neither turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our captain Jesus Christ in the narrow and straight way; and be afraid of nothing, no not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlasting life.

Consider also the course of this world, how many there be, which, for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as, commonly, in wars; and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season: how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure, much less, to be made kings in heaven for evermore! Consider also the wicked of this world, which, for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of imprisonment and hanging. So

(1) 1 Cor. iv.

(2) Matt. xxvi. Heb. iv. 1 Mac. iv.

(3) Gen. xxii. xli. Num. xxv.

(4) Joshua i.

(5) Num. xiv.

(6) 1 Sam. xxiv. 2 Kings ii.

(7) Dan. iii. vi.

(8) Psal. xxxviii.

(9) Acts xiv.

(10) 4 Esdras vii.

much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle.

And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where, for the time, is most danger, I beseech you all, in the bowels of Christ, to help us, and all other our fellow-soldiers standing in like perilous place, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy mingled with patience in the fear of God; that we and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world to follow you. Amen.

Consider what I say; the Lord give us understanding in all things! Brethren, the time is short. It remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not; for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world, but set your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek and long-suffering; serve and edify one another with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life.¹ Beware of all uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness: rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin; spend no more time in vice; be sober and apt to pray; be patient in trouble; love each other; and let the glory of God and profit of your neighbour be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And, above all things, cleave ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification: to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and rule for evermore. Amen.

Mary.
A. D.
1555

Doctrine
of good
works.

Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God, which, by his grace hath called us from wicked papistry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution, will, of his mercy and favour, in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death, or by life, to his glory. Amen.

At Lancaster, the 30th of August, 1554: by me an unprofitable servant of Christ,
George Marsh.

A Letter of George Marsh to Jenkin Crampton and others.

To his well-beloved in Christ, Jenkin Crampton, James Leiver, Elice Fogge, Ralph Bradshaw, the wife of Richard Bradshaw, Elice Crampton, and to every one of them, be these delivered from Lancaster, George Marsh.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.²

After salutations in Christ, and hearty thanks for your friendly tokens, and your other remembrances towards me, beseeching God that ye may increase in faith, fear, and love, and all good gifts, and grow up into a perfect man in Christ: these be earnestly to exhort you, yea and to beseech you in the tender mercy of Christ, that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye worship and serve him in spirit, in the gospel of his Son. For God will not be worshipped after the commandments and traditions of men, neither yet by any other means appointed, prescribed, and taught us, but by his holy word. And though all men, for the most part, defile themselves with the wicked traditions of men, and ordinances after the world, and not after Christ;³ yet do ye, after the ensample of Toby, Daniel and his three companions, Mattathias and his five sons, be at a point with yourselves, that ye will not be defiled with the unclean meats of the heathen;⁴ I do mean the filthiness of idolatry, and the very heathenish ceremonies of the papists: but as the true worshippers, serve ye God in spirit and verity,⁵ according to his sacred Scriptures, which I would wish and will you above all things continually and reverently (as both St. Paul and Christ command you),⁶ to search and read, with the wholesome monitions of the same; to teach, exhort, comfort, and edify one

(1) 2 Tim. ii. 1 Cor. vii. 1 John ii. Col. iii.

(2) Ephes. iv. Acts xi. Rom. i. Col. ii.

(3) John iv.

(4) 1 Cor. xiii.

(5) Tob. i. Dan. i. 1 Macc. i.

(6) John v. 1 Tim. v.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

another, and your brethren and neighbours, now in the time of this our miserable captivity, and great famishment of souls, for want of the food of God's word.¹ And doubt not but that the merciful Lord (who hath promised to be with us even unto the world's end, and that whensoever two or three be gathered together in his name he will be in the midst of them,²) will assist you, and teach you the right meanings of the sacred Scriptures, will keep you from all errors, and lead you into all truth, as he hath faithfully promised.

And though ye think yourselves unable to teach, yet, at the commandment of Christ, now in time of famine (the hungry people, being in the wilderness far from any towns, who if they be sent away fasting, are sure to faint and perish by the way), employ and bestow those five loaves and two fishes that ye have, upon that hungry multitude, although ye think it nothing among so many.³ And he that increased the five loaves and two fishes to feed five thousand men, besides women and children, shall also augment his gifts in you, not only to the edifying and winning of others in Christ, but also to an exceeding great increase of your knowledge in God and his holy word. And fear not your adversaries, for either according to his accustomed manner God shall blind their eyes that they shall not spy you, either get you favour in their sight, or else graciously deliver you out of their hands by one means or other.⁴

Lessons
of christian
man-
ners.

Obey with reverence all your superiors, unless they command idolatry or ungodliness. Make provision for your households; chiefly that they be instructed and taught in the law of God. Love your wives even as your own selves, and as Christ loved the congregation. Love your children; but rate them not, lest they be of a desperate mind: and bring them up in the nurture and information of the Lord, and teach them even as the godly parents of Toby the younger⁵ and Susanna did teach their children, even from their infancy, to reverence God according to his law, and to abstain from sin; providing that in no wise they be brought up in idleness and wantonness, seeing that ye reckon yourselves to be the children of God, and look for the life which God shall give to them that never turn their belief from him.⁶ See that ye ever fear God, and keep his commandments: and though the plague of God chance unto you, yet remain ye steadfast in the faith and fear of God, and thank him, and serve him in such holiness and righteousness as are acceptable before him, all the days of your life. Comfort yourselves in all your adversities, and stay yourselves in him, who hath promised not to leave you as fatherless and motherless children without any comfort, but that he will come to you like a most gentle and merciful Lord. He will continually stand by you in all your troubles, assisting, helping, and succouring you at all times. "I will be with you," saith he, "unto the end of the world." And cleave you fast unto him which was incarnate, lived, wrought, taught, and died for your sins, yea, rose again from death, and ascended into heaven for your justification. Repent ye of the life that is past, and cease from sin, and from henceforward live as much time as remaineth in the flesh, not after the lusts of men, but after the will of God. To do good and distribute, forget not. Fast and pray busily; and as every man hath received the gift, minister the same one to another as good ministers of the manifold graces of God, that God in all things may be glorified through Jesus Christ; to whom be praise and dominion for ever, and while the world standeth. Amen.

Yours,

George Marsh.

Another Letter of George Marsh to certain faithful Brethren in the Congregation.

The same grace and peace, dearly beloved in Christ, do I entirely desire and wish unto you, which the apostle St. Paul wisheth to all them, unto whom he did write and send his epistles; than which two things no better can be wished and desired of God. Grace is, throughout all the epistles of Paul, taken for the free mercy and favour of God, whereby he saveth us freely without any deservings or works of the law. In like manner peace is taken for the quietness and tranquillity of the conscience, being thoroughly persuaded that through the only merits of Christ's death and blood-shedding, there is an atonement and

Grace.
Peace,
what it is.

¹ Matt. xxviii.
⁽⁴⁾ Phil. i.

⁽²⁾ Matt. xviii.
⁽⁵⁾ Tob. ii.

⁽³⁾ John xii. Matt. xiv.
⁽⁶⁾ Tob. iii.

peace made between God and us, so that God will no more impute our sins unto us, nor yet condemn us.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

He exhorteth to steadfastness in the gospel.

Dearly beloved, I will not be negligent to put you always in remembrance of things, though that you know them yourselves, and be also established in the present truth; notwithstanding, I think it meet, as long as I am in this tabernacle, to stir you up by putting you in remembrance. Wherefore I beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, even as ye have received how ye ought to walk and to please God. And as Barnabas, that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, exhorted the Antiochians, with purpose of heart cleave ye continually unto the Lord. And stand fast, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, whereof (God be thanked) ye have had plenteous preaching unto you these years past, by the faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders, and others like, which now, when persecution ariseth, because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, but are prest and ready for your sakes, which are his mystical body, to forsake the chief and principal delights of this life; and some of them, in giving place to the outrageous tyranny of the world, to forsake their livings, friends, native land, and other chief pleasures of this life, and to commit themselves to painful exile, that if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And others are ready to fulfil their ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall so require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, not only to be cast into prison, but also to die, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Leiver, Pilkington, Bradford, Saunders.

Men banished for the gospel in queen Mary's days.

Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the gospel, for which word we suffer as evil-doers, even unto bonds: but the word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesu with eternal glory. Wherefore stand ye fast in the faith, and be not moved from the hope of the gospel, and so shall ye make us, even with joy, to suffer for your sakes, and, as the apostle saith, "to fulfil that which is behind of the passion of Christ in our flesh, for his body's sake, which is the congregation." St. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the passion of Christ, as touching his own person, is that most perfect and omni-sufficient sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his blood; but these his words ought to be understood of the elect and chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall be persecuted, unto the world's end. The passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical body, which is the Church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Son's sake. Wherefore stablish yourselves, and be of good comfort; and be not moved in these afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For, on our parts, nothing can be greater consolation and inward joy unto us in our adversity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the apostle writeth of the Thessalonians, saying, "Now are we alive, if ye stand steadfast in the Lord." For good shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christ's flock to be their own; for, while it goeth well with the congregation, it goeth well with them also, in whatsoever affliction or adversity they be: but when they see the church in any peril or weakness, then be they weary of their own lives; then can they have no rest nor joy. "Who is weak," saith St. Paul, "and I am not weak? who is offended, and I do not burn?" But this affection is not in them that seek their own lucre and glory.

The meaning of St. Paul's words opened.

The condition of a true pastor.

And, forasmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, let us run with joy unto the battle that is set before us, and, like good warriors of Jesus Christ, please him who hath chosen us to be soldiers; and not, like shrinking children, faint and fall away from the truth now, in time of adversity and tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning. For God is wont, for the most part, to warn his elect and chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake; not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds

A christian man's life is a warfare upon earth. The church is ever forewarned before affliction.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Peter delivered
out of prison

against the boisterous storms of persecution—as we have a notable example in the apostle St. Paul, unto whom God sent Agabus, who prophesied unto him of the imprisonment and bands that he should suffer at Jerusalem: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and steadfastness, who, regarding nothing the tears of his familiar friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God; and he, being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirsty enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always (to the great comfort of all that shall hear of it) most ready to help and succour him. First, he did send him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean Aristarchus and Lucas,¹ so ruling the heart of the under-captain Julius, that he courteously entreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refresh himself; and he was beneficial unto him at all times. In like manner was God with Joseph, and delivered him from all his adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of Pharaoh king of Egypt, insomuch that he made him governor over all Egypt, and over all his household. In like manner was he with Jeremy and Daniel, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them; to their singular comfort. Also when Peter was in Herod's prison, sleeping between two soldiers, bound with two chains, and the keepers before the door keeping the prison, the same night that Herod had intended to have brought him out unto the people the day following, and to have put him unto death to please the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed James the brother of John with the sword; God sent his angel, and the chains fell off from Peter's hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord; and so was Peter wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that looseth all bands, and delivereth out of prison, and not that feigned God, St. Leonard. On that true God did St. Peter call; unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, "Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his angel," etc.

These things are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like-minded one towards another, after the ensample of Christ Jesus; that we, all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A poor prisoner for Christ,

George Marsh.

Another Letter of George Marsh to Robert Langley and others.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you, good brother in Christ, Robert Langley, and with all them that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly; Amen.

After hearty commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with you to your costs; this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from me mine examination and handling at Latham, and the cause of mine imprisonment, according as I did promise you: and this ye shall receive by my brother, or some one of the Bradshaws of Bolton, within this sevensnight; willing you to show the same to such faithful men about Manchester or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true religion and Christ's holy word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful affliction; I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God, as yet I do want nothing, and intend to be as little chargeable to others (saving my mother) as I can. If I do want, I will be bold with you and others. To send for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the meanwhile to pray for me, and all others in the bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of faith.

Yours,

George Marsh.

(1) Acts xvii.

A Letter of George Marsh to a certain godly Friend.

Marg.

Grace be with you, and peace be multiplied in the knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord.

A. D.
1555.

After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown; these shall be to certify you, that I rejoice greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of sundry and divers heretofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly imprisonment, sending me things not only necessary for this present life, but also comfortable letters; encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my trust, and without whom I can do nothing, that he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ; being surely certified in my conscience of this, that he will so do, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which, enduring to the end, shall be saved!

And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing on your behalf is greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the faith and love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the apostle reporteth by the Thessalonians, saying, "Now are we alive, if ye stand steadfast in the Lord." For my trust in the Lord is, that this my business shall happen to the furtherance of the gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, whereof some being but way-side hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved (but let prayer be made without ceasing by the congregation unto God for them), and, no doubt, God will to your consolation gloriously deliver, by one means or other, his oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lord's leisure; be strong; let your heart be of good comfort; and wait ye still for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come: look for him therefore, and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Way-side
hearers of
the word.

Yours,

George Marsh.

A Letter of a Godly Brother, one James Bradshaw, sent to George Marsh in Prison.

Grace and peace from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ be with you alway. Amen.

We had a letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to see you take the cross so thankfully. Trouble and affliction do prove, try, instruct, confirm, and strengthen the faith, provoke and stir up prayer, drive and force us to amendment of life, to the fear of God, to meekness, to patience, to constancy, to gentleness, to soberness, temperancy, and to all manner of virtues; and are the occasion of exceeding much good, as well transitory as eternal, in this world as in the world to come. There is neither good nor bad, godly nor ungodly, but he hath one cross or other. And although some there be, that can shift for a while, and make provision for themselves for a time, by craft and subtlety and dissimulation, or by some falsehood in fellowship (as they call it); yet they bring themselves at length into the highest danger, confusion, and shame, both in this world, and in the world to come. And seeing that all the troubles and adversity in this world are a thousand times more light and easy, yea nothing in comparison of the eternal fire, which is prepared and already kindled for the unfaithful wicked enemies of God; all faithful and godly persons ought to bear and suffer their transitory affliction and adversity the more patiently, willingly, and thankfully; considering and remembering all the dearly beloved friends of God, which were wonderfully vexed and plagued of their enemies, Abraham of the Chaldees, Lot of the Sodomites, Isaac of Ishmael, Jacob of Esau, Moses of his people, David of Saul, and of his own son. As for

What
good af-
fliction
worketh
in the
godly.Exam-
ples of
holy men
suffering
affliction.

Mary. Job, he had not a drop of blood in his body. John Baptist, the holiest that ever was born of a woman, was, without any law, right, or reason, beheaded in prison, as though God had known nothing at all of him.

A. D.
1555.

We have many thousand fellow martyrs and companions of our misery and adversity, in respect of whose imprisonment, racking, chains, fire, wild beasts, and other means wherewith they were tormented, all that we suffer is but a blast of wind. Therefore now, whosoever is ashamed of the cross of Christ, and aggrieved therewith, the same is ashamed to have Christ for his fellow and companion, and therefore shall the Lord Jesus Christ be ashamed of him again at the latter day.

Thus I leave for this time, beseeching you to let me have your advice, because I do not outwardly speak that with my tongue, that I do not think in my heart. Pray for me, as I for you. I beseech the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping alway. Amen.

By your friend,

James Bradshaw.

A Prayer of George Marsh, which he used daily to say.

O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures,¹ all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings, and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts; and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace, and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed; and our heart, always bringing forth thorns and briers to be burned with fire, from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness, unto life everlasting: Amen.

Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees use this confession of sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge unfeignedly to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look yourselves, first, in the pure glass of God's commandments, and there see your outward filthiness and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the same; that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against sin, and thereby be provoked to long after Christ; for we truly are sinners, but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe on him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his table,² for he is a most liberal feast-maker. He will set before us his own holy body, which is given to us to be our meat, and his precious blood, which was shed for us and for many, for the remission of sins, to be our drink. He biddeth, willet, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. "Come," saith he, "all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your souls."³

The Life and Story of William Flower,

WHO FOR STRIKING OF A PRIEST, WAS APPREHENDED, FIRST
HAVING HIS HAND CUT OFF, AND AFTER MARTYRED
FOR HIS CONSTANT STANDING TO THE TRUTH.

Flower
first a
monk and
then a
priest of
Ely.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch—first, concerning his trade of life and bringing up—he was born at Snailwell, in the county of Cambridge, where he went to school certain years, and then came to the abbey of Ely; where, after he had remained a

See (1) This word appears to be synonymous with "knot:" from "knorr," (Teutonic) meaning knur, knoure, or knurl, a knot in timber.—ED.

(2) 1 Cor. x. Matt. xxvi.

(3) Matt. xxi.

while, he was a professed monk according to the order and rule of the same house wherein he remained, using and bearing the habit of a monk, and observing the rules and order of the same house, until he came to twenty-one years of age, or thereabout: and before he came to that age, and being a professed monk, he was made a priest also in the same house; and there did celebrate and sing mass a good space together. After that, by reason of a visitation, and certain injunctions given in the same time by the authority of king Henry the Eighth, he forsook the same house, and casting from him the said monk's habit and religion aforesaid, took upon him and used the habit of a secular priest, and returned to Snailwell, where he was born; and there he did celebrate and sing mass, and taught children their primer and accidence about half a year together.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Flower at the suppression of abbeyes, turning his religion, is made mass priest.

Then he went from thence to Lidgate in Suffolk, and there served as a secular priest about a quarter of a year; and from thence he then went to Stonyland, where he tarried and served as a secular priest also, until the coming out of the Six Articles; and then he departed from thence, and went into Gloucestershire, where, after he had made his abode in the country awhile, at length in Tewkesbury, according to God's holy ordinance, he married a wife, with whom he ever after faithfully and honestly continued; and after his marriage, he tarried in Tewkesbury about two years together, and then from thence he went unto Bursley, where he tarried three quarters of a year, and practised physick and chirurgery; and from thence he removed to Northamptonshire, where, under a gentleman, he taught children their primers, and to write and read, a good space. And so, departing from those parts, he came to London; and there remained for a certain space. After that, being desirous to see his country, he returned to Snailwell where he was born: from thence to Braintree in Essex, then to Coggeshall, where he taught children a space, and so came to Lambeth beside London, where he hired a house, and placed his wife; where he and his wife did ever since dwell together till this time: howbeit, for the most part, he was always abroad; and very seldom at home, except once or twice in a month, to visit and see his wife; where he, being at home upon Easter day about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, came over the water from Lambeth into St. Margaret's church at Westminster; where he, finding and seeing a priest called John Cheltham ministering and giving the sacrament of the altar to the people, and therewith, being greatly offended in his conscience with the priest for the same his doing (for that he judged him not to be a catholic minister, neither his act to be catholic and laudable according to God's word), did strike and wound him upon the head, and also upon the arm and hand, with his woodknife; the priest having the same time in his hand a chalice, with certain consecrated hosts therein, which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest. In the which so doing as indeed he did not well nor evangelically, so afterward, being examined before bishop Bonner, did he no less confess his not well doing in the same; submitting therefore himself willingly to punishment, when it should come. Howbeit touching his belief in the sacrament, and the popish ministration, he neither would nor did submit himself.

See Appendix.

Flower married a wife.

Comeeth to Lambeth.

Flower striketh a popish priest at the altar in Westminster.

Repenteth his act in striking, is constant in his faith.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Laid in
the Gate-
house at
Westmin-
ster.
Brought
before
bishop
Bonner.

Whereupon the foresaid William Flower, being first apprehended and laid in the Gatehouse at Westminster (where he had given two groats the same day a little before to the prisoners, saying, he would shortly after come to them) with as many irons as he could bear; afterward was converted before Bonner his ordinary, April 19, A.D. 1555, where the bishop, after he had sworn him upon a book (according to his ordinary manner), ministered articles and interrogatories to him. But before I speak of the articles, first we have here to set forth what communication passed betwixt him and Robert Smith (being then also there prisoner with him in Newgate) concerning his fact done at Westminster; the tenor and effect of which communication here followeth.

A Communication or Debating between Robert Smith, Prisoner in Newgate, and William Flower, concerning his striking of the Priest at Westminster.

Robert Smith :—" Friend, forasmuch as I do understand that you do profess the gospel, and also have so done a long season, I am bold to come unto you, and in the way of communication to demand and learn a truth at your own mouth, of certain things by you committed, to the astonishing not only of me, but of divers others, that also profess the verity."

Flower :—" I praise God for his great goodness, in showing me the light of his holy word; and I give you hearty thanks for your visitation, intending, by God's grace, to declare all the truth that ye shall demand lawfully of me, in all things."

Smith :—" Then I desire you to show me the truth of your deed, committed on John Cheltam, priest in the church, as near as you can, that I may hear from your own mouth how it was."

The zeal
of Flower
in seeing
the Lord's
honour
defaced.

Flower :—" I came from my house at Lambeth over the water, and entering into St. Margaret's church (so called), and there, seeing the people falling down before a most shameful and detestable idol, being moved with extreme zeal for my God, whom I saw before my face dishonoured, I drew forth my hanger, and strake the priest which ministered the same unto them: whereupon I was immediately apprehended. And this is most true, as the act is manifest."

Smith :—" Did ye not know the parson that ye strake, or were ye not zealous upon him for any evil will or hatred between you at any time?"

Flower :—" No, verily; I never to my knowledge saw the parson before that present, neither owed him, or any man alive, evil will or malice; for if he had not had it, another should, if I had any time come where the like occasion had been ministered, if God had permitted me to do it."

Smith :—" Do ye think that thing to be well done, and after the rule of the gospel?"

Extraor-
dinary
zeals are
no gen-
eral rules
to be fol-
lowed.

Flower :—" I do confess all flesh to be subject to the power of Almighty God, whom he maketh his ministers, to do his will and pleasure; as in example, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, Joshua, Zimri, Jehu, Judith, Mattathias, with many others, not only changing degrees, but also planting zeals to his honour, against all order and respect of flesh and blood. For, as saith St. Paul, 'His works are past finding out:' by whose Spirit I have also given my flesh at this present unto such order as it shall please the good will of God to appoint in death, which, before the act committed I looked for."

Smith :—" Think you it convenient for me, or any other, to do the like by your example?"

Flower
intending
at Paul's
to have
done the
like.

Flower :—" No, verily; neither do I know, if it were to do again, whether I could do it again, or no: for I was up very early at Paul's church (so called) upon Christ's day in the morning, to have done it in my jealousy: but when I came in place, I was no more able to do it, than now to undo that is done; and yet now, being compelled by the Spirit, not only to come over the water, and to enter the church, but being in mind fully content to die for the Lord, gave over my flesh willingly, without all fear, I praise God. Wherefore I cannot learn you to do the like: first, because I know not what is in you; secondly,

because the rules of the gospel command us to suffer with patience all wrongs and injuries. Yet, nevertheless if he make you worthy, that hath made me zealous, ye shall not be letted, judged, nor condemned: for he doth in his people his unspeakable works in all ages, which no man can comprehend. I humbly beseech you to judge the best of the Spirit, and condemn not God's doings: for I cannot express with my mouth the great mercies that God hath showed on me in this thing, which I repent not."

Smith :—"Are ye not assured to have death ministered unto you for the same act committed, and even with extremity?"

Flower :—"I did, before the deed committed, adjudge my body to die for the same: whereupon I carried about me in writing, mine opinion of God and the holy Scriptures; that if it had pleased God to have given them leave to have killed my body in the church, they might in the said writing have seen my hope, which (I praise God) is laid up safe within my breast, notwithstanding any death that may be ministered unto my body in this world; being ascertained of everlasting life through Jesus Christ our Lord, and being most heartily sorry for all mine offences committed in this flesh, and trusting shortly, through his mercy, to cease from the same."

Smith .—"It is no need to examine or commune with you of the hope that ye have any further; for I perceive (God be praised) ye are in good estate, and therefore I beseech God for his mercies spread his wings over you; that as, for his love, you have been zealous, even to the loss of this life, so he may give you his Holy Spirit to conduct you out of this death into a better life, which I think will be shortly."

Flower :—"I hunger for the same, dear friend, being fully ascertained that they can kill but the body, which I am assured shall receive life again everlasting, and see no more death; entirely desiring you and all that fear the Lord, to pray with me to Almighty God, to perform the same in me shortly."

And thus Robert Smith departed, leaving him in the dungeon, and went again to his ward. And this, gentle reader, is the truth, as near as the said Smith could report it. And thus much concerning the talk between him and Robert Smith in Newgate, concerning his fact in striking the priest. Now to return again to the matter of his examination, where we left: we showed before how this William Flower, after his striking the priest, first was laid in the Gatehouse; then, being examined before Bonner, had articles ministered against him, the copy whereof here followeth.

Articles objected and ministered by Bonner, against William Branch, alias Flower, late of Lambeth in the County of Surrey.

First, that thou, being of a lawful age and discretion, at the least of seventeen years of old, was professed a monk in the late abbey of Ely, wherein, after thy profession, thou remainedst until the age of twenty-one years, using, all the mean time, the habit and religion of the same house, and wast reputed and taken notoriously for such a person.

Item, that after the premises, thou wast ordered and made priest, according to the laudable custom of the catholic church; and afterward thou didst execute and minister as a priest; and wast commonly reputed, named, and taken for a priest.

Item, that after the premises thou, forgetting God, thy conscience, honesty, and the laudable order of the catholic church, didst, contrary to thy profession and vow, take as unto thy wife, one woman, commonly called Alice Pulton, in the parish church of Tewkesbury, in the diocese of Gloucester, with whom thou hadst mutual cohabitation as man and wife, and begattest of her two children.

Item, that thou, being a religious man and a priest, didst, contrary to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, take upon thee to practise in divers places within the diocese of London, physic and chirurgery, when thou wast not admitted, expert, nor learned.

Item, that upon Easter day last past, that is to wit, the 14th day of this present month of April, within the parish church of St. Margaret's at Westminster,

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Flower
prepareth
himself
to death
before the
fact com-
mitted.

In the
latter
days cer-
tain shall
depart
from the
faith, for-
bidding
marriage
and eat-
ing of
meats.
1 Tim. iv.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

within the county of Middlesex and diocese of London, thou didst maliciously outrageously, and violently pull out thy weapon ; that is to wit, thy woodknife or hanger. And whereas the priest and minister there, called Sir John Cheltham, was executing his cure and charge, especially in doing his service, and ministering the sacrament of the altar to communicants, then didst thou wickedly and abominably smite with thy said weapon the said priest, first upon the head very sore ; and afterwards, upon his hands or other parts of his body, drawing blood abundantly upon him : the said priest then holding the said sacrament in his hand, and, giving no occasion why thou shouldst so hurt him ; the people being grievously offended therewith, and the said church polluted thereby, so that the inhabitants were compelled to repair to another church to communicate, and to receive the said sacrament.

Item, that by reason of the premises, thou wast and art, by the ecclesiastical laws of the church, amongst other penalties, excommunicate and accursed, ipso facto ; and not to be companied withal, neither in the church, nor elsewhere, but in special cases.

His faith
in the
sacra-
ment.

Item, that thou, concerning the verity of Christ's natural body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, hast been by the space of these twenty, nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, fifteen, fourteen, thirteen, twelve, eleven, ten, nine, eight, seven, six, five, four, three, two, and one years, or any one of them, and yet art at this present, of this opinion ; that is to say, that in the said sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed contained (under the forms of bread) the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that thou, for the hatred and disdain that thou hadst and didst bear against the said sacrament, and the virtue thereof, and against the said priest ministering the same (as before), didst smite, wound, and hurt him in manner and form as before is declared.

Item, that thou, over and besides the pains due unto thee for the doing of the cruel fact, art also, by the order of the ecclesiastical laws of the church, and the laudable custom and ordinance of the same, to be reputed, taken, and adjudged (as thou art indeed) a very heretic, and to be punished by and with the pains due for heresy, by reason of thy said heresy and damnable opinion.

Item, that all the premises be true and manifest, notorious and famous ; and that upon the same, and every part thereof, there was and is, within the said parish of St. Margaret's and other places thereabout, a public voice and fame.

The Answer of William Flower, made to the Articles aforesaid.

Flower
made
monk
against
his will.

To the first article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof ; except that he saith and confesseth, that he never consented and agreed in his heart to be a monk.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof : howbeit, he saith, that he never did, nor yet doth, esteem the said order of priesthood, according to the said order of the catholic church ; because he was offended therewith in his conscience.

Flower
more de-
vout to
God in
the state
of mat-
rimony
than be-
fore.

To the third article he answereth and confesseth, that he, intending to live in godly matrimony, and not forgetting God, did marry with the said Alice Pulton named in this article ; wherein he believed that he did well, and according to God's laws. Further, confessing and believing, that all the time when he was professed monk, and made priest ; he did thereby utterly forget God : but when he did so marry the said Alice Pulton, and in continuing with her did beget three children, he did remember God, as he saith, and believeth that he did then lawfully.

To the fourth article he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

Order of
Flower's
striking
the priest
at the
altar.

To the fifth article he answereth and confesseth, that his conscience being greatly offended with the said sir John Cheltham, priest, for ministering of the sacrament of the altar to the people at the place and time specified in this article, he did smite and strike the same priest with his hanger or woodknife, as well upon his head, as upon other parts and places of his body which he remembereth not, whereby the blood ran out, and was shed in the said church, as he believeth ; having, as he saith, none other cause or matter so to do, but only

that his conscience was offended and grieved; in that the same priest did so give and minister the said sacrament to the people:¹ which people he believeth were greatly abashed and offended with his said fact and doing; and were enforced and compelled to go out of the church, and to repair to another to receive the said sacrament. And further, being then demanded and examined, whether he did then mind and intend to have killed the said priest, or not; he said he would not answer thereunto. And being further examined, whether he did well or evil in striking the said priest; he would make no answer thereunto, as he said.

To the sixth he answereth and saith, that whether he be so excommunicate or accursed, as is contained in this article, he referreth himself herein to the ecclesiastical laws.

To the seventh he answereth and saith, that by the space of six and twenty years now past, he hath always been, and yet is, of this opinion touching the said sacrament of the altar, as followeth: videlicet, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is not really, truly, and in very deed, contained under the form of bread, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

To the eighth he answereth, and believeth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the ninth he answereth, and herein he referreth himself to the said laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article; that is to say, the canonical laws.

To the last he answereth and believeth, that those things before by him confessed, be true, and those which he hath denied, be untrue; and that the said common voice and fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

By me William Flower, alias Branch.

After this examination done, the bishop began after the best sort of his fine divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the unity of his mother the catholic church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would so do, besides the remitting of what was past. To this William Flower, answering again, thanked him for his offer; and whereas it was in his power to kill or not to kill his body, he stood therewith contented, let him do therein what he thought; yet over his soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the body, is in the hands of no man, but only of God, either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the sacrament, he said he would never go from what he had spoken, do he with him what he would.

Then the bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt three and four; in the mean time, to advise himself of his former answers, whether he would stand to the same his opinions or no: which if he so did, he would further proceed against him, etc.

At afternoon the said William Flower appeared again before the said bishop, the hour and place appointed; to whom the bishop, sitting in his consistory, spake these words: "Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made answer to certain articles; and thereupon I respited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with yourself your state; and to remember while you have time, both your abominable act, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived, touching the verity of Christ's true natural body in the sacrament of the altar:" to whom the said Branch

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Flower
exhorted
to recant

Refuseth
to revoke
his faith
and doctrine.

Another
appearance of
Flower
before
Bonner.

(1) Note that the said William Flower afterward, in his next appearance, corrected and reformed this answer.

Mary. answered again, and said as followeth : “ That which I have said, I will stand to ; and therefore I require that the law may proceed against me.” Whereupon the bishop commanded his notary (Hayward by name) to read to him again his articles, as before : which being read, the said William Flower, persisting in his godly sentence, answered to all parts of the articles, as in the forenoon before ; save only that he requested the bishop, concerning the fifth article, he might alter something his answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words ; to wit,—

Flower
misliketh
his act in
striking
the priest.

He re-
formeth
his an-
swer to
the ninth
article.

And moreover confesseth and saith—that whereas he strake the priest on Easter day last past, in St. Margaret's church in Westminster, he hath since that time and yet doth mislike himself in that doing ; and doth now judge and believe that the same his act was evil and naught. Howbeit he saith and believeth that as for the matter and cause wherefore he so struck the said priest (which was for ministering of the sacrament of the altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable), he did not nor doth mislike himself at all therein. Moreover, he desireth of the said bishop license to be granted him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth article ; and in place thereof, these words to be placed ; to wit, “ Herein he referreth himself to the laws, custom, and ordinance specified in this article,” etc.

At this request, Bonner granted to the altering of both the articles according as he desired, and so put in the acts.

After this, the bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the catholic church, and to the faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his sentence ; saying that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to die there-for. Whereupon the bishop assigned him the next day (being the 20th day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of eight and nine before noon ; there and then to hear the sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, etc.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF WILLIAM FLOWER BEFORE BISHOP BONNER.

In the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower, as he was appointed, was brought by his keeper belonging to the warden of the Fleet, before Bonner, who, after his wonted manner of persuasion going about to reduce him to his catholic church and the unity thereof ; that is, from Christ to Antichrist ; sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors, fearing him, etc. ; to this William answering, said on this wise : “ Do what ye will, I am at a point ; for the heavens shall as soon fall, as I will forsake mine opinion,” etc. Whereupon the bishop, after he had commanded these words to be registered, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these : William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Graunt, Richard Dod, William Pampion, Robert Smalwood the parish priest of St. Margaret's at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensueth.

Flower's
con-
stancy.

Witness
produced
against
Flower.

The Depositions or Attestations produced upon the Answers of William Flower.

Robert Graunt of Westminster, examined upon the said answers of William Flower, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge

and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, when the said William Flower did smite and wound the priest, when (as he saith) he was ministering the sacrament; and how this examine among others pressed towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his chin; and after he was taken, this examine help to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminster.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past, drew his wood-knife, and strake the priest upon the head, hand, and arm; who, being wounded therewith, and having a chalice with consecrated hosts therein, in his hand, sprinkled with the said priest's blood, was holpen and rescued by this examine, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his wood-knife taken away by this examine.

William Pampion, one of the churchwardens of the said parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, examined upon the said answers of the said Flower, saith and deposeth, that the same answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter-day last past, about eleven of the clock in the forenoon, in the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, among a great number of the people ready to be houseled, the priest's back being turned toward the said Flower, he (the said Flower) suddenly drew forth his wood-knife, and strake sir John Cheltham the priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly; and the chalice with consecrated hosts being in his hand, were sprinkled with his blood, and the people in great fear cried out lamentably, and thought they should presently have been killed.

Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand; and saith further, touching the striking and wounding the priest in St. Margaret's church in Westminster upon Easter-day last, this examine saith, he was not there when the fact was done, but, immediately after, he came to church, and found sir John hurt, and wounded in the head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the people in great heaviness by reason thereof. Also the people did report (as this examine saith) that Flower did the deed as the priest had the chalice in his hand, ministering the sacrament to the people.

William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the answers of the said William Flower, saith and deposeth, by virtue of his oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and subscribe to the same with his own hand in the consistory place: and further deposeth, that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, where Flower strake the said sir John Cheltham, priest, first upon the head, and afterward upon his arm, two sore strokes, whereby the said priest is like to lose his hand. Also this jurate depose, that the said sir John Cheltham had a chalice with certain consecrated hosts therein (in his hand), which were sprinkled with the blood of the said priest; and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examine and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

John Bray, one of the churchwardens of the parish church of St. Margaret's in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said answers, saith and deposeth, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognise the said answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further deposeth of Flower's striking the priest, in effect, as the rest of the examines do, and that this said jurate was present there at the deed-doing.

After the depositions of these foresaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said bishop, speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his sentence should not be read, and he to be pronounced as a heretic.¹ Whereunto the martyr of God answered again as followeth: "I have nothing at all

(1) The author alludes here to Flower's conscientious disavowal of transubstantiation.—Ed.

Marg. to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say ; and
A. D. that I have said, I will not go from ; and therefore do what you
1555. will," etc. Which when he had spoken, the bishop proceeded to the
Sentence of con- condemnation and degradation pronounced against William Flower. sentence, condemning and excommunicating him for a heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded ; and so committed him to the secular power. Upon the 24th day of the aforesaid month of April, which was St. Mark's Even, he was brought to the place of martyrdom, which was in St. Margaret's churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed : and there, coming to the stake where he should be burned, first he maketh his prayer to Almighty God, with a confession of his christian faith, in manner as followeth :

A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.

O eternal God, most mighty and merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the earth, to save me and all mankind, who ascended up into heaven again, and left his blood upon the earth behind him, for the redemption of our sins, have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, in whom I confess only to be all salvation and justification, and that there is none other mean, nor way, nor holiness, in which or by which any man can be saved in this world.—This is my faith, which I beseech all men here to bear witness of.

Then he said the Lord's prayer, and so made an end.

Then master Chohnley came to him, willing him to recant his heresy, whereby he might do good to the people ; or else he would be damned. Flower answered as followeth : " Sir, I beseech you, for God's sake, be contented ; for that I have said, I have said : and I have been of this faith from the beginning ; and I trust to the living God he will give me his Holy Spirit, to continue to the end." Then he desired all the world to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the world. This done, first his right hand, being held up against the stake, was stricken off, his left hand being stayed behind him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the same, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud voice, " O the Son of God, have mercy upon me ! O the Son of God, receive my soul !" three times ; and so his speech being taken from him, he spake no more, lifting up, notwithstanding, his stump with his other arm, as long as he could. And thus endured this constant witness and faithful servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly handled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought ; so that for lack of faggots, there being not sufficient to burn him, they were fain to strike him down into the fire ; where he lying along (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his nether part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his tongue in all men's sight still moving in his mouth.

*See
Appendix.*

May.—the 3d of May a letter was sent to George Colt and Thomas Daniel, to make search for, and apprehend John Bernard and John Walsh, who used to repair to Sudbury, and carrying about with them the bones of Pygot that was burned, to show them to the

people, persuading them to be constant in his religion: and upon examination to commit them to further ordering, according to the laws. *Mary.*

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little Ease in the Tower, there to remain two or three days, until further examination. *A. D.*
1555.

The 12th day, master Thomas Ross, preacher, was by the council's letters delivered from the Tower to the sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the bishop of Norwich; and he, either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the law.

The 16th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, signifying what the Lords had done for Ross; and that order should be given, according to his lordship's request, for letters to the bishops: and as for Appes, whom the lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his lordship, perceiving the same to be true, should commit him to Bethlem, there to remain until their further order.

*See
Appendix.*

The 26th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to confer with the bishop of London, and the justices of the peace of that county, wherein they were to be executed, that were already condemned for religion; and, upon agreement of places, to give order for their execution accordingly.

The 28th, a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause speedy preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tidings of queen Mary's good delivery of child, to divers princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The ambassadors were, to the emperor, the lord admiral; to the French king, the lord Fitzwaters; to the king of Romans, sir Henry Sidney; to the king of Portugal, Richard Shelley; whose free passage through France master doctor Wotton was willed to procure by letters, the 24th of June.

The 29th, was a letter directed to sir Francis Englefield, to make search for one John D., at London, and to apprehend him, and send him to the council; and to make search for such papers and books as he thinketh may touch the same D., or one Benger.

The Burning and Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne, Upholsterer,

WHO SUFFERED BOTH TOGETHER IN SMITHFIELD, A.D. 1555.

On the 30th day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, prebendary of the church of Wells; and John Warne, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Walbrook: of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with master Cardmaker, who, first, was an observant friar before the dissolution of the abbeys; then, after, was a married minister; and, in king Edward's time, appointed to be a reader in Paul's, where the papists were so much aggrieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker, being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with master Barlow, bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, king Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, *ex officio*, to exercise

*Card-
maker
reader in
Paul's.*

*Card-
maker
with Bar-
low ap-
prehend-
ed and
laid in
the Fleet.*

Mary. their tyranny, these two were both brought before Winchester, chancellor, and others appointed by commission (as before is mentioned), to examine the faith of such as were then prisoners; and, as unto others before, so now unto them, the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, etc.

Barlow
and Card-
maker
accept-
able to
Winches-
ter as
catholics.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners allowed them for catholic. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some forged example of a shrinking brother to lay in the dish of the rest, which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their answer was, yet, notwithstanding, Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward, being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Laurence Saunders was brought (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him); where these two prisoners had such christian conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishops blustered, and the tickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both showed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Laurence Saunders it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be baited of the papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Barlow
exiled for
the truth.

Confer-
ence be-
tween
Saunders
and Card-
maker.

Martin
writeth
against
Card-
maker.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those pageants, took upon him to be the chief doer by writing, whose long unsavoury letters and simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such papistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially; confuting the same, opening the falsehood of his arguments, and delivering the sentences of the fathers (which Martin abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his answers I would had come into our hands. Thus constantly abode this man of God all the enemies' doings, as he did also the death which he suffered in Smithfield in London; whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will survey the matter and manner of his articles objected against him by bishop Bonner, with his answers annexed to the same; as consequently hereunder followeth.

Articles objected by Bonner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker;
with his Answers unto the same.

May 24.

First, I Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee, sir John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

Item, that thou, in times past, didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis. Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Item, that thou, in times past, didst receive all the orders of the church then used ; to wit, "tam majores quam minores."

Item, that thou, after thy said entry into religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow, and with her hast lived in wedlock, and didst get of her a woman child ; breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church. †
Card-
maker
married.

Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar under the visible signs there ; that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that the belief of the catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said sacrament ; and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ. The be-
lief of the
pope's
catholic
church.

Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the catholic church ; that the body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity ; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.¹

Item, that Christ, at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, "Take, eat, this is my body," did institute a sacrament there ;² willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament—no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Answers of Cardmaker to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under age, did profess the said order and religion ; and afterward, by the authority of king Henry the Eighth, he was dispensed with for the same religion.

To the third he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true : and to the second part of the same article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true ; that is to say, that Christ, taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, "Take, eat : this is my body," did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article, *videlicet*—willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof—he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true. The first
part of
this article
is
true : the
second is
false.

By me, John Cardmaker.

Master Cardmaker, calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the papists, and thinking himself not to have fully, and according to his true meaning, answered the latter part of the last eighth article, did, the next day after the foresaid answers, exhibit unto the bishop in a schedule, this hereafter following.

(1) To speak naturally of the natural body of Christ, these two cannot stand together at one time, unless we grant Christ to have two bodies

(2) That Christ never willed, neither can the Scriptures bear it.

*Mary.***A D.**
1555.Sacra-
mental
and car-
nal pre-
sence.

Whereas in my answers to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for the bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution: so I say that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament, so that my denial is still of the real carnal, and corporal presence in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental, nor spiritual presence.—This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it

By me, John Cardmaker.

Next to these articles of master Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the articles and answers likewise of John Warne, his martyr-fellow, in manner as followeth.

Articles ministered against John Warne, Upholsterer, of the Parish of St. John in Walbrook, with his Answers to the same.

First, that thou John Warne, being of the age of twenty-nine years, and of the parish of St. John in Walbrook in London, hast believed, and dost believe, firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Transub-
stantia-
tion.

Item, that thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

The sacri-
fice of the
mass.

Item, that thou hast said and dost believe, that if the catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass, now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, and against God's truth and the Scripture.

Heresy
for laugh-
ing at a
spanie.
shorn on
the head.

Item, that thou hast said, that whereas about a twelvemonth ago, and more, a great rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn in the head, and had a crown like a priest's made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

Item, That thou, neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad; because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst so have done.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said Bonner in presence of divers witnesses, the 23d of May, A.D. 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me, John Warne.

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the bishop aforesaid, as followeth:

Addition to Articles.

Warne,
about the
time of
Anne As-
kew, con-
demned,
but had
his par-
don.

Item, That thou, John Warne, wast in time past here, in the city of London, convented in the Guildhall for heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry the Eighth, and when alderman Barnes was sheriff; and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield; and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund bishop of London did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error, which was, that in the

sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine; but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldst not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert, according to the said laws, condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of king Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.

Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then, and also afore, believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor any other substance but the substance of material bread and wine; and to receive the said material bread and wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood: but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto, as followeth.

By me, John Warne.

John Warne, being examined upon the foresaid articles by the bishop before certain witnesses, whose names were John Boswell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the 23d of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the articles and contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part; subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son. Whereupon the bishop, exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies (as he called them), and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24th of the same month: who, so doing and answering as he did before, was willed to come thither again at afternoon, and so he did: where and at what time, he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the holy Scriptures.

Upon this answer he was willed to come again the next day, being the 25th of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles before objected, to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further answer thereunto added: "I am persuaded," quoth he, "that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all filthiness and idolatry is in the church of Rome."

The bishop then, seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings (whereof he used store), he could not any thing prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the 30th day of the same month of May. Upon the which day, being the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, with the said John Warne, were

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Warne
denieth
transub-
stantia-
tion.

Answer
of Warne
to the ar-
ticles.

The second
session
against
him.

The third
session.

Warne
constant
against
the
bishop's
persua-
sions.

Sentence
given
against
him.

Card-
maker
and
Warne
brought
to execu-
tion.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer : who, being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and had wood and reed set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing ; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people afraid of Cardmaker recanting.

The people which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, on beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself : yet the people confirmed themselves in their fantasy of his recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

Cardmaker standeth constantly to the fire.

Cardmaker and Warne join hands. The people rejoice at Cardmaker's constancy.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly : he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily ; and so gave himself to be also bound to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with so great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater), saying, " God be praised ; the Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker ; the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit ! " And this continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.¹

The Confession of the Faith of John Warne, citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30th day of May, A.D. 1555.

" I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of heaven and earth."

A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son ; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom—and therefore he is our Father : an Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

" And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord."

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth : he was made also perfect man ; and so, being very God and very man in one person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

" Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary."

According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of

(1) The martyrdom of Mary, Warne's wife, is related *infra* p. 342.—Ed.

the manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell."

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry; and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness; thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore, suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell; yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

"The third day he rose again from death to life."

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and glory of his Godhead: he became the firstfruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell; leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand; that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

The triumphant victory over death.

"From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."

He shall appear again in great glory to receive his elect unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet; changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost."

I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption; by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ

"The holy catholic church."

This is a holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world; and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and Antichrist otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

The church.

Mary.

"The communion of saints."

A. D.
1555.

Which most holy congregation (being, as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner stone), though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head Jesus Christ, with all these his holy members (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe that I am one), shall be fully comolete, knit, and united together for evermore.

"The forgiveness of sins."

Remission only
through
Christ.

I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption; which, St. Paul saith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of his cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life is given, nor sin forgiven.

"The resurrection of the body."

Resur-
rection

I do believe, that by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the firstfruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies; the elect clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever: the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

"And the life everlasting."

Life and
salvation
only by
faith in
Christ.

Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven: "For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him, might have everlasting life." The which I am sure to possess, so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle; and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever, to the which God grant all men to come.

Two Sa-
craments
of the
New Tes-
tament.

I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's Supper, are seals of God's most merciful promises towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am, by Christ's blood, washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's Supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine (the nature of which is to strengthen the body), so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection; and in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

This is my faith; this do I believe; and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

By me, John Warne.

A Letter of John Cardmaker to a certain Friend of his.

The peace of God be with you:—You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but am as ready to give my life, as any of my brethren that are gone before me; although by a policy I have a little pro-

longed it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance; as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as in riches, for that count I now to be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

A Note concerning Master Cardmaker, and one Beard, a Promoter.

Master Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard, a promoter, came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said thus unto him :

Beard :—" Sir, I am sent unto you by the council, to know whether ye will recant or no ? "

Cardmaker :—" From which council are ye come ? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent from the queen's council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those who ye said sent you. I know *you* are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living : so *I* have been a preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God, by his great mercy, hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth, I have, by his grace, endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy word ; and I thank him for his great mercy. I hope I have discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I have received."

Beard :—" Yea, sir ; but what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar ? "

Cardmaker :—" I say (and mark it well), that Christ, the night before his bitter passion, ordained the holy and blessed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof ; in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood shed, for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him."

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, *Judgment touching the sacrament.* Whether the sacrament he spake of, had a beginning or no ? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same so to be, then master Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon :

" If the sacrament," said he, " as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God ; for God hath no beginning nor ending : " and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

The 5th day of June, [there were letters sent to] master secretary Bourne, the master of the Rolls, sir Francis Englefield, sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to examination of Benger, Cary, D * * *, and Field, upon such further points as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of calculating or conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said letters.

The 7th day of June there was another letter to sir John Tregonwell ; willing him to join in commission with the said lord North, and others above named, about the examination of the said parties and others, for conjuring and witchcraft. And the 29th of August, Cary and D * * * were set at liberty upon bonds for their good abearing until Christmas after.

The 12th day of June a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning and executing of Derike a brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stebbing, the other at Chichester.

See
Appendix.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*

The 23d of June a letter was sent to Bonner, to examine a report given to the council of four parishes within the soke of Essex, that should still use the English service; and to punish the offenders, if any such be.

The Story of John Ardeley and John Simson, Martyrs,

OF THE PARISH OF WIGBOROUGH THE GREAT, IN ESSEX.

With master Cardmaker and John Warne, upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, were also condemned John Ardeley and John Simson; which was the 25th day of May. But before we come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter, directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to the bishop, in tenor and form as followeth.

A Letter of the King and Queen to Bonner.

To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the bishop of London.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas of late we addressed our letters to the justices of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby, amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as (forgetting their duties towards God and us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to show themselves conformable to the catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travailed withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or, if they be received, are neither so travailed with as christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify this our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, you to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be; or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed.

Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton-court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our reigns.

This letter thus coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to entreat, of John Simson, I mean, and John Ardeley; who being both of one country, and of one town together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough in Essex, and also almost both of one age, save that Simson was of the age of thirty-four, the other of thirty, were brought up both together by the under-sheriff

Queen
Mary
stirreth
Bonner to
shed in-
nocent
blood.

Ardeley
and Sim-
son, hus-
bandmen
in the
town of
Wig-
borough.

of Essex, to Bonner bishop of London, upon the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy. *Mary.*

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop; as the articles ministered against them were much like, so their answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the bishop's own registers here followeth expressed. A. D.
1555.

Articles objected against John Simson and John Ardeley, of the Parish of Wigborough the Great, in Essex, Husbandmen, by Bonner bishop of London, at Fulham, May 22, A.D. 1555.

I. First, that thou John Simson [or John Ardeley] husbandman, of the age of thirty-four years or thereabout, wast and art of the parish of Great Wigborough, within the diocese of London; and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

II. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the religion of the same, in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in the said faith or religion, or in any part thereof.

III. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said catholic and universal church, and the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any christian man. The churches of Rome, Italy, Spain, and other foreign countries in Europe.

IV. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other the churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast and dost believe firmly and stedfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and by faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all. The substance of Christ's body under forms of bread and wine.

V. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the people; remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only. Transubstantiation denied.

VI. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught, and spoken, that the mass now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, saving the "Gloria in excelsis," and the Epistle and the Gospel; and that therefore thou hast not, nor wilt not come to be present at the mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, or any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in this realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid. The mass abominable.

VII. Item, That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that auricular confession

Mary. is not needful to be made unto the priest, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise
A. D. thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies
1555. of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said, that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue; and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naught.

The Answers of John Simson, and also of John Ardeley, to the
foresaid Articles.

To the first, they believe, that here in earth there is one catholic and universal holy church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first article; and that this church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give faith and credence unto it, as is contained in the second article.

To the third, as concerning the faith and religion of the church of Rome, of Italy, Spain, France, Ireland, Scotland, and other churches in Europe, they say, they have nothing to do with that faith and religion: but as concerning the faith and religion of England, that if the said Church of England be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of England hath the faith and religion of the catholic church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the Church of England were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this heresy.

Transub-
stantia-
tion de-
nied.

To the fourth they answer, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is very bread and very wine, not altered or changed in substance in any wise; and that he that receiveth the said bread and wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the body and blood of Christ; but not the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance under the forms of bread and wine.

To the fifth they say, they have answered, answering to the said fourth article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but only the substance of the natural bread and wine.

The mass
detested.

To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the mass is of the pope, and not of Christ; and therefore it is not good, nor having in it any goodness, saving the "Gloria in excelsis," the Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, and the Pater-noster; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will not, come and hear mass.

To the seventh, John Ardeley answereth and saith, that he believeth the contents of the same to be true; but John Simson doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily service said and used in the church, he saith, that he never said, that service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naught.

John Ardeley and John Simson.

Another
appear-
ance of
Simson
and Arde-
ley before
the
bishop.

Thus these articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, as before, the bishop, according to the old trade of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the said bishop, repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and sollicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

The
words of
Ardeley
to Bon-
ner.

To whom Joann Ardeley again, constantly standing to his professed religion, gave answer in words as followeth: "My lord," quoth he, "neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the catholic church; for you be of a false faith: and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed

the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more," etc.

And added further, saying, "If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in." These with many other words he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions (as he called them), and be reduced again to the unity of the church. He answered as followeth, "No! God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul."

After this, the said bishop, asking John Ardeley (after his formal manner) if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him; so read the condemnation, as he also did against John Simson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley: which was done the 25th day of May. And so were they both committed to the secular power (that is, to the hands of the sheriffs), to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which happened in the closing up the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this:

At the time of the examination of this Simson and John Ardeley aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the consistory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the church, near about the said consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened in the mean time, that the bishop, being set in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the said two prisoners (especially of John Simson), burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, "Have him away! have him away!"

Now the people in the church, hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they, being desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean: wherefore the bishop also, being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asked what there was to do.¹ The standers-by answering said, that there was like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest, being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop still out, and cried, "Save my lord! save my lord!" but meaning yet first to save themselves, if any danger should come; whereby they gave the standers-by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when the church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof ye may read before.² But of this matter enough.

Now John Simson and John Ardeley, being delivered (as is afore

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Ardeley
and John
Simson
condemned.

Ridiculous fear
of Bonner
and his
doctors.

(1) Note the sudden fear of Bonner.

(2) See vol. v. p. 455.

Mary. said) to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to
A.D. Essex, where both they, in one day, which was about the 10th of
1555. June) were put to death, albeit in several places; for John Simson
See suffered at Rochford: John Ardeley the same day was had to Ray-
Appendix. leigh, where he finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of
 Christ's gospel.

A NOTE OF JOHN ARDELEY.

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these catholic days, this is furthermore not unworthy of all men to be noted and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company, how that they, being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their conscience free from all idolatry and papistical religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart-blood; so greedy and so thirsty be these persecutors, of christian blood. The Lord give them repentance if it be his will, and keep from them the just reward of such cruel dealing! Amen.

The ridiculous Handling and Proceeding of Bishop Bonner and his Rates against John Tooley,

FIRST SUSPECTED AND CONDEMNED AFTER HIS DEATH, AND
 THEN DIGGED OUT OF HIS GRAVE, AND GIVEN TO THE
 SECULAR POWER, AND SO BURNED FOR A HERETIC.

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spirituality against John Tooley, in a case of heresy. The story is this: There was about the time that the Spaniards began first to keep a stir in England, one John Tooley, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain other of his society, to rob a Spaniard at St. James's: and although the deed were heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person, and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbery being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooley was found guilty, and judged to be hanged, whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed, than thieves executed.

The foresaid Tooley being led to the gallows (which stood fast by Charing Cross) a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome: and as the same Tooley, and two other his

Tooley
 died a
 true
 christian
 man.

fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness; and there being in a great anger (as appeared) against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice these words following: "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us!"

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

*See
Appendix*

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the people,— "All you that be true christian men, say with me, Amen." And immediately thereupon three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, "Amen," three times together at the least.¹

After this it happened, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man (who was thought to be a prentice) stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Haukes, saying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromley sergeant, who desired to have it of him. Upon the top of which bill was written a line, containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist;" and subscribed underneath, "Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, enemy to Antichrist." For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromley was brought afterward "coram nobis;" and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooley, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers, as is abovesaid, to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayers he fell into great tyranny. For so soon as the bruit of this fact came unto the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad thereat, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooley's talk at his death was debated among themselves.

A council
called
against
Tooley.

At last, after much pro and contra, they all consented to those men's judgments, who thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. And I do easily believe that cardinal Pole was no small doer in this sentence; for as Winchester and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except peradventure, being loth to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal's like lightning and fiery fist the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had lain almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooley's carcase was here at London. And besides this, because he would show some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife, a woman of worthy memory, to be digged

Cardinal
Pole a
great doer
in burn-
ing dead
men's
bones.

Bucer,
Phagius,
Martyr's
wife, and
Tooley,
burned
for here-
tics after
their
death.

Mary. out of the church-yard, and to be buried on the dunghill. Of these
A. D. two prodigious acts ye shall hear more hereafter. But now to our
1555. purpose of Tooley, who, having ended his prayer, was hanged and put
 into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the command-
 ment of the bishops; and because he was so bold to derogate the
 authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased
 them to judge and condemn him as a heretic, upon the command-
 ment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

A Letter sent unto Bonner, Bishop of London, from the Council,
 concerning Tooley.

After our very hearty commendations to your lordship, understanding that
 of late amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one
 lewd person that was condemned for felony died very obstinately, professing at
 the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think
 it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some
 example to the world, so have we thought good to pray your lordship to cause
 further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making
 out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf.
 And so we bid your lordship heartily well to fare.

From Hampton Court, the 28th of April, 1555.

Your lordship's loving friends,

Step. Winton, Chancellor.
 F. Shrewsbury.
 John Gage.
 Thomas Cheney.

R. Rochester.
 William Peter.
 Rich. Southwell.

Anon after, a citation was set up upon Paul's church door under
 the bishop of London's great seal; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

*See
 Appendix.*

The Writ or Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, set up at
 Charing Cross, on Paul's church door, and at St. Martin's in the
 Field, for the citing and further inquiring out of the case of John
 Tooley.

A citation
 set up by
 Bonner in
 Latin, com-
 manding
 his kin
 and kins-
 folks to
 say for
 him what
 they
 could, be-
 fore the
 sentence
 given, or
 else to
 hold their
 peace for
 ever.

Edmund, by the sufferance of God bishop of London, to all and singular
 parsons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks and learned men, being within our
 diocese of London; and specially unto Richard Clunie, our sworn sumnor,
 greeting, salutation, and benediction. Forsomuch as it is come to our hearing
 by common fame, and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one John
 Tooley, late citizen and poulterer of London, the son of perdition and iniquity,
 coming to the profundity of malice in the selfsame time in the which he should
 go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by
 him committed, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of
 his soul, and to have died in the unity of the catholic church, did utter divers
 and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly
 contrary and repugnant to the verity of the catholic faith and unity of the
 same; and did exhort, stir up, and encourage the people, there standing in
 great multitude, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions: and more-
 over, certain of the people there standing (as it did appear), infected with errors
 and heresies, as fautors and defenders of the said John, did confirm and give
 express consent to the foresaid words, propositions, and affirmations; which
 thing we do utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart:

We therefore, the foresaid Edmund and bishop abovesaid, not being able, nor
 daring¹ to pass over in silence, nor wink at the foresaid heinous act, lest by
 our negligence and slackness the blood of them might be required at our hands
 at the most terrible day of judgment, desiring to be certified and informed

(1) Note how Bonner here pretendeth conscience, in prosecuting this matter, when only he was
 commanded unto it by the council's letters.

whether the premises declared unto us, be of the truth, and lest that any scabbed sheep, lurking amongst the simple flock of our Lord, do infect them with pestiferous heresy: to you therefore we straitly charge and command, that you cite, or cause to be cited, all and singular, having or knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation upon the church door of St. Martin's in the Field, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church door of St. Paul's in London; leaving there the copy hereof, or by other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

All which and singular, by the tenor of these presents, we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar general, or commissary, whatsoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the consistory place, upon Thursday the 2d day of May now next ensuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the clock in the forenoon the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises; and moreover to do and receive what law and reason doth require.

Further we commit unto you as before, and straitly enjoining you do command, that ye will generally cite the wife of the said Tooley that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars in especial, and all other and every of them (if there be any perhaps that desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises), that ye admonish them after the manner and form aforesaid; whom we likewise, by the tenor of these presents, do in such sort cite and monish that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep silence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, allege, and propose, in due form of law a cause reasonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooley that is dead ought not to be determined and declared for such a heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned, in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcase to lack church burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the arm and power secular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their peace.

And furthermore, to do, receive, and to suffer as law and reason will, and as the quality of such matter, and the nature of themselves do constrain and require, and moreover that you cite and monish, after the manner aforesaid, all and every of the receivers, fautors, and creditors of the said John Tooley that is dead, especially if any of them do incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, that on this side the said Thursday they return and submit themselves unto us, and to the lap of the mother holy church: which thing if they do, we, trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promise that we will receive them being penitent for such their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own souls, and in that behalf save their honesties to the uttermost of our power: otherwise, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary process of the law, let those men know, that we will punish more severely this offence, according to the uttermost of the law, and as far as the law will bear it; and what ye shall do in the premises, let him among you, which shall execute this our present mandate, certify us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patent, together with these authentically sealed.

Dated at London under our seal, the last day of April, 1555, and of our translation the 16th.

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooley being cited did not appear, next in order of law came the suspension (whereas one suspension had been enough for him); and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The wife,
children,
and kindred of
Tooley
cited.

The carcase of
Tooley
cut off
from
christian
burial.

The
bishop
layeth his
bait to
catch
whom he
may
trouble.

Tooley
suspend-
ed and ex-
commu-
nicated.

Mary. communion of the church. *And¹ why not, I pray you? For the lightning of excommunication, that these popish bishops use, is of itself so subtle and sharp, that it doth not only strike men that be living, but doth also pierce through the graves and ghosts of men that be dead.* These things being prepared in such manner, as in such cases full wisely they use to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made answer to certain articles, rehearsed in judgment openly, and that in the behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) sufficiently answer them by the other—to avoid the name of a heretic—first witnesses were provided against him, whose names were Henry Clark esquire, Thomas Way keeper of the Marshalsea, Philip Andrew under-marshal, William Holingworth fishmonger, William Gellard, William Walton chandler, Richard Longman merchant-tailor, Philip Britten, John Burton brewer, Thomas Smith sergeant. Then he was for a heretic condemned, and so committed to the secular power, namely to the sheriffs of London, who, with the like diligence, went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man (being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as a heretic, and besides that, dead), they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely “ad perpetuam rei memoriam,” for a continual remembrance thereof: this was done the fourth day of June.

Witness
against
him.

Tooley
given to
the secu-
lar power.

*The² Depositions or Attestations, producted the 29th day of April, 1555, before Harpsfield, archdeacon-general, concerning the Words of John Tooley, at the time of his Death at Charing Cross.

See
Appendix

Henry Clark, esquire, of the age of thirty-one years, or thereabouts, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth by virtue of his oath: that, upon Friday last past, being the 26th day of April, this deponent was present at Charing Cross, in the suburbs of London, and the county of Middlesex, at the execution of the said John Tooley and others. At which time the said Tooley, after that he had read a certain prayer in a printed book, and his other prayers, written in two several papers, then, having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true christian man; and that he trusted to be saved, only by the merits of Christ's passion, and shedding of his precious blood; and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome. And as he, the same Tooley, and two others, his fellows who were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other peltry, for covetousness. And there, being in a great rage and anger, as appeared, spake, with a loud voice, these words following, namely: “From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from contempt of thy word and commandment, good Lord deliver us.” And then, adding further to the same, he spake unto the people: “All you that be true christian men, say with me, ‘Amen;’” and immediately thereupon, three hundred persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of this examinee being there present, answered and said “Amen” three times together at the least. And the same Tooley began to repeat, and to recite his former words against the pope: and, being stayed, as well by this examinee, as by this under-marshal and others, ceased from further rehearsal, and so suffered forthwith execution, without any manner revocation of his aforesaid words.

King
Henry
the
Eighth's
Litany.

Thomas Way, keeper of the Marshalsea, of the age of thirty years, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate, saving he

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1144 as printed.—Ed.

(2) For these depositions of witnesses see Edition 1563, pp. 1144, 1146.—Ed.

addeth, that the said Tooley had a paper written, which he read to the people, and then tare in pieces, and so threw it away: which paper this examinee gathered up and delivered to my lord chancellor. As for any particular person that said "Amen" to Tooley's words, he knew none.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Philip Andrew, under-marshal of the Marshalsea, of the age of fifty-four years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth: that the like words in effect as the first jurate deposeth, were told him, standing by; but he heard them not. But when he understood the matter, he went to the said Tooley, and rebuked him in this sort, namely: "Thou whoreson, seditious traitor! thou wert worthy to be hanged seven years ago;" and immediately commanded the cart (being under the gallows), to be driven away, and so he and his two fellows were hanged.

William Hollingworth, fishmonger, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalene in Old Fish-street, of the age of forty-eight years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth, that the other two prisoners being with the said Tooley in the cart under the gallows, did speak the like words which Tooley did (as is in the first jurate's depositions), and that by Tooley's desire.

William Gellard, fishmonger, of the parish of St. Nicholas Cole-Abbey, of the age of thirty-six years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth, saving he addeth, that the paper fell out of Tooley's hand; and one (whom this jurate knew not) gave it to him up again; which the said Tooley did read the second time with a loud voice, and one prisoner with him; and the people answered "Amen" again, but not so many added at the first. And so he was hanged with his fellows, not revoking his words.

William Walton, chandler, of the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, in Old Fish-street, of the age of forty-nine years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth that he (the said Tooley) did bid one of his fellows, called Whight (being in the cart), to stand by, and pray with him. And after the words spoken of Tooley against the pope, this examinee said to him these words, namely, "Good fellow! remember thyself, for thou art not in the unity of the true faith; for thou oughtest to pray for the pope;" unto which words Tooley replied and said, "I trust I am in the true faith." Then a pursuivant, an elderly man, being by this jurate, desired him to let the said Tooley alone, for he had not long to live: in the end the said Tooley and his followers said the Pater-noster and Creed in English, and so were hanged.

Richard Longman, merchant tailor, of the parish of St. John's in Walbrook, of the age of seventy years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth, that he that took up the bill, when it fell from Tooley, was in a blue coat; and in giving the bill to the said Tooley again, he desired him to read it again; and so he read it, and, without revoking the same, he was hanged.

Philip Britten, dwelling with John Britten, porter of the Marshalsea, of the age of nineteen years, sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in effect as the first jurate deposeth: saving he addeth that Tooley said, "Those trental masses, images, and bulls of lead, it is not them that I believe in. And I desire you all, good christian people! not to believe in such things; for they be naught, superstitious, and plain idolatry," etc. Also this examinee deposeth that he who took Tooley the paper, being fallen, was, as he thought, an apprentice, in a bright violet jacket, a black fustian doublet, a black cap, and white hose, with ruffed plates of the same cloth. And, after Tooley tare the paper, and threw it down, then this examinee took it up, and gave the same to Thomas Way, the keeper of the Marshalsea.

John Burton, brewer, of St. Giles without Cripplegate, of the city of London, of the age of forty-four years, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth in virtue of his oath: that upon Friday last past, before this his examination, and about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the same day, one Robert Bromley, a yeoman sergeant, came to this examinee, then sitting in the Compter-gate in Bread-street, in company with one Humphery Hord, porter of the said Compter, and one Smith a sergeant, and others whose names he remembereth not; and then and there declared unto them certain words and communication, which the said John Tooley uttered and spake the same morning at the time of his

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.*See
Appendix.*

execution: which were, amongst others, that he desired the people to bear witness that he died a true christian man; and that then he prayed after this sort, namely, "From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us." And, after he had so prayed, he desired the people to say "Amen." And then, after the said Bromley had thus declared unto them, he showed forth to them a certain prayer, written in paper, which he said he received of the said Tooley, which prayer was there then read by the said Bromley or by the said porter (but by which he cannot certainly tell), and before the said paper, in the top of the paper was written, "Beware of Antichrist;" and under the same was written "Per me, Thomam Harolde, prisoner in the Marshalsea, and enemy to Antichrist," which words, as he remembereth, were read also at the same time; but the contents of the said prayer he doth not now remember. And then the said Bromley, at this examine's request, did give unto him the said prayer, which he kept with him until Sunday then next following; upon which Sunday, after the sermon, master Chester the sheriff's butler called Arnold, having understand before this jurate to have the said prayer, desired this jurate that he might see it: and so this examine delivered it to the said butler, which butler delivered it again to the sheriff's steward, who did openly read it then in the sheriff's kitchen. And the said butler hearing the said words read in the beginning and end of the said prayer, willed the steward to put them out with a pen and ink; and thereupon this steward so did: which seeing this examine, he did cut it off in the presence and before the said butler, the steward, and also the said Bromley, and the said sheriff's youngest son, and others whose names he remembereth not. And, after this was done, this examine received the said prayer again, and put it into his purse, and kept it with him until yesterday; at which time the said Bromley came to this examine, and received of him the said prayer again, saying that he must have it to deliver it to the knight-marshal.

Thomas Smith, sergeant, of the parish of the Trinity in the city of London, of the age of forty years, being produced and examined, saith and deposeth, in effect, as John Burton doth say before in his depositions, agreeing with him therein, till he come to the place in the said depositions where it is said, that Bromley took John Burton the said prayer, and how he heard that Bromley had fetched his paper of John Burton again. Thus this jurate endeth his depositions, saving he addeth in the midst of the same, that one Hord should say (being at the Compter gate with this examine, when the paper was read, and the manner of Tooley's death showed), this which followeth: "I cannot see but that this man (meaning the said Tooley) died well, and like a christian man;" at which words this jurate rose, and went his way.

The Examination of Robert Bromley, sergeant, before sir Roger Cholmley, knight, and Nicholas Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and chancellor to the bishop of London, the last of April, 1555.

Robert Bromley, of London, grocer, and one of the sheriff's officers, of the age of twenty-eight years or thereabouts, being sworn and examined, saith and deposeth: that the 26th day of April last past, he, being in the Compter gate, did see many people run by, and, marvelling whereat they ran, he went up into Cheapside; and, seeing John Tooley in a cart going to execution, whom he hath known these sixteen years, followed him to Charing-cross; and there, being at the place of execution, he heard the said Tooley say in effect as in the first jurate's depositions, till that the said first examine came to the place where he deposeth the people to answer "Amen;" of which number this examine confesseth himself to be one. And this jurate further saith, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him; and a certain young man to the examine unknown, who went in a sleeveless coat, and a pair of white hose, as he remembereth, stooped down, and took up the bill, and climbed up by the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again; which he again did read to the people. And further this jurate, being examined whether he did not offer himself to receive the said book of prayers, he answered no, for the said Tooley delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the same book, and willed him to deliver it to one Haux, saying that it was his book. Notwithstanding the said Tooley delivered unto this examine one of the prayers written in paper,

which he desired to have of him, and which he kept in his hand a whole day; and saith, that he received of him no other papers nor books. Howbeit he saith, that there was a book or a paper delivered by Tooley (as he supposeth) unto one of the marshal's officers, to be delivered to Alexander, the keeper of Newgate; which book was delivered unto the said Alexander, and a copy desired thereof, which Alexander would not suffer, but delivered it unto sir Richard Read. And further, this examine saith, that there was written one line above the said bill containing these words, "Beware of Antichrist," and subscribed underneath, "Per me Thomam Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea and enemy to Antichrist;" which bill, he saith, he did deliver unto Burton upon Saturday; and the said Burton had delivered it again upon Monday to this examine, and had cut off the said words both above and beneath. And further, being examined of the circumstances of Burton's depositions, affirmeth the same in effect; saving he added, that Arnold the sheriff's butler required of him to see the bill which, this examine said, he had delivered to Burton; and at that time he had it not to show him. Also this jurate further addeth, that in the sheriff's kitchen, those words above and beneath the bill were blotted out, and delivered to Burton again, who, at the time, did not cut off the said fore and hinder part of the said prayer. R. Bromley.

Upon the 3d day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord 1555, in the house of master Nicholas Harpsfield, vicar-general, etc., before him, in the presence of me Harward, notary, etc., the deposition of the foresaid examine was acknowledged by the said Robert Bromley, by which acknowledging made, the said Bromley said and confesseth, that he is very penitent and sorry for his evil and lewd behaviour by him above declared. And saith, that he will not stand to any error, uttered by the said Tooley; but from the bottom of his heart he doth detest and abhor the same.

By me, Robert Bromley.*

The History and Martyrdom of the worthy Servant of Christ, Thomas Haukes, Gentleman,

WITH HIS EXAMINATIONS AND ANSWERS HAD WITH BISHOP
BONNER, RECORDED AND PENNED WITH HIS OWN HAND.

Immediately after the story of doctor Taylor, mention before was made of six men brought and convented before bishop Bonner upon the 8th day of February; the names of which martyrs were Stephen Knight, William Pygot, Thomas Tomkins, John Laurence, William Hunter. In which number was also Thomas Haukes, and condemned likewise with them the 9th day of the foresaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present 10th day of the month of June, wherewith we are now in hand, it followeth therefore now consequently to enter tractation thereof; first, beginning briefly with his godly conversation and institution of life, then showing of his troubles, also of his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

As touching therefore his education and order of life, first he was of the country of Essex, born of an honest stock, in calling and profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood, and like a gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest. Wherein as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

His life
and conversation

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.The victory of
martyrs,
is the triumph of
Christ.Haukes
first in
service
with the
earl of
Oxford.Compell-
ed to
leave
him.*See
Appendix.*Haukes's
child
three
weeks
unchrist-
ened.Brought
before the
earlSent up
to Bon-
ner.

other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth, of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously to shine by his example.

For if the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of Christ (as St. Ambrose doth notably and truly write), undoubtedly Christ in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriously, than in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so constantly in his death.

But to the declaration of the matter: first this Haukes, following the guise of the court, as he grew in years, entered service with the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being there right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward the Sixth lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but also to be in danger everywhere, and chiefly in the houses of great men. Haukes, misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had tasted, thought to change the place; and so, forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

But what paradise in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither that old wicked serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season (as it happened) Haukes, keeping his house at home, had born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner; which thing the adversaries not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to condemn the sacraments of the church.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger, and letters; and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which his letter sent to Bonner, be these.

A Letter of the Earl of Oxford to Bonner.

Most reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized as it is now used in the church; whereupon I have sent him to your good lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion.

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterward read it to master Haukes, he, hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings. Then began the bishop to enter communication with master Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom master Haukes answered thus again as followeth:

Private Talk or Conference between Haukes and Bonner.

Mary

Haukes :—"Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God."

A. D.

1555.

Bonner :—"Why! baptism is commanded by the word of God."

Haukes :—"His institution therein I do not deny."

Bonner :—"What deny ye then?"

Haukes :—"I deny all things invented and devised by man."

Bonner :—"What things be those that be devised by man, that ye be so offended withal?"

Haukes :—"Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candle, and conjuring of water, etc."

Bonner :—"Will ye deny that, which all the whole world, and your father hath been contented withal?"

Man's invention.
The fore-fathers.

Haukes :—"What my father and all the whole world have done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I."

Bonner :—"The catholic church hath taught it."

Haukes :—"What is the catholic church?"

The catholic church.

Bonner :—"It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world."

Haukes :—"Who is the head thereof?"

Bonner :—"Christ is the head thereof."

Haukes :—"Are we taught in Christ, or in the church now?"

Bonner :—"Have ye not read in John viii. where he said, he would send his Comforter, which should teach you all things?"

Haukes :—"I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter—but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth and verity; and that is not to teach a new doctrine."

Bonner :—"Ah, sir! ye are a right scripture-man; for ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?"

Haukes :—"Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know."

Bonner :—"I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Essex?"

Haukes :—"I know none."

Bonner :—"Do ye not know one Baget there?"

Haukes :—"Yes forsooth, I know him."

Bonner :—"What manner of man is he?"

Haukes :—"An honest man, so far as I know."

Bonner :—"Do you know him if ye see him?"

Haukes :—"Yea, that I do."

Then said he to one of his servants, "Go call me Baget hither." And then he said to me, "Ye seem to be a very proud man, and a stubborn."—He that brought me up stood all this while by.

See
Append. r.

Haukes :—"What should move your lordship so to say?"

Bonner :—"Because I see in a man that came with you, much humility and lowliness."

Haukes :—"It seemeth your lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no more curtesy to you;—and with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget: "How say ye, sir? know ye this man?"

Bonner looketh to be curtesied.

Baget :—"Yea forsooth, my lord:—with that Baget and I shook hands. Then said the bishop to Baget, "Sir, this man hath a child which hath lain three weeks unchristened (as I have letters to show); who refuseth to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church:—how say you thereto?"

Baget brought to the sight of Haukes.

Baget :—"Forsooth, my lord, I say nothing thereto." [with low curtesy to the hard ground.]

Bonner :—"Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church or not."

Baget :—"I beseech your lordship to pardon me: he is old enough; let him answer for himself."

Bonner :—"Ah, sir knave! are ye at that point with me?" "Go call me the porter," said he, to one of his men: "Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point?"

Bonner chafeth at Baget's answer.

*Mary.***A. D.
1555.**Bonner
taketh
Baget
with him
aside
to con-
jure him.*See
Appendix.*Baget
taught
to say
after
Bonner.
Haukes
builds
his faith
upon no
man.Is for-
bidden to
talk in
the
bishop's
house.Haukes
and Baget
sepa-
rated.
Talk be-
tween
Darbi-
shire and
Haukes.Salva-
tion.
Instruc-
tion.Baptism
after king
Edward's
book.Bonner
no
preacher.

Then came the bishop's man, and said, "The porter is gone to London : then said the bishop to Baget, "Come with me;" and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own teaching), who desired, amongst all other things, to know of me, with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were, that were my teachers.

Haukes :—"When I see your commission I will make you answer."—And then immediately came the bishop again : but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again ; and called me also, and said to Baget : "How say ye now, sir, unto baptism ? Say whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no ?"

Baget :—"Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good."

Bonner :—"I ! befool your heart ; could ye not have said so before ? Ye have wounded this man's conscience." Then the bishop turned to me and said, "How say ye now, sir ? This man is turned and converted."

Haukes :—"I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus ; who (as Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith."

Bonner :—"I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you."

Haukes :—"Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it : for I am in your hands to abide it."

Bonner :—"Well, ye are so ; come on your ways ; ye shall go in, and I will use you christianlike : you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house : but in any wise talk not."

Haukes :—"I purpose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth."

Bonner :—"I will have no heresy talked on in my house."

Haukes :—"Why, is the truth become heresy ? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth."

Bonner :—"If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel."

Haukes :—"Then I trust you will grant me my request."

Bonner :—"What is that ?"

Haukes :—"That your doctors and servants give me none occasion : for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience."

Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner ; and I dined at the steward's table. After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongst all others, there was one Darbshire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious ; "for ye will have," said he, "nothing but your little pretty God's book."

Haukes :—"And is it not sufficient for my salvation ?" "Yes," said Darbshire, "it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction."

Haukes :—"God send me the salvation, and you the instruction."

And as we thus reasoned, came the bishop, who said unto me, "I gave you a commandment, that you should not talk."

Haukes :—"And I desired you, that your doctors and servants should give me none occasion."—Then went we into his orchard again, he and his doctors and I.

Bonner :—"Would not ye be contented to have, that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by king Edward ?"

Haukes :—"Yes, with a good will : it is a thing that I desire."

Bonner :—"I thought so : ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and, in necessity, it may serve."

Haukes :—"Christ did use it without any such necessity : and yet we lack the chiefest point."

Bonner :—"What is that ?"

Haukes :—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them," etc.

Bonner :—"Thou speakest that, because I am no preacher."

Haukes :—"I speak the text : I do not mean you." Then spake all the doctors and his men that were with him : "He speaketh it of you, my lord" [with a great noise that they made].

Bonner :—" Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?"

Haukes :—" If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you : for I had the same counsel given before."

Bonner :—" You seem to be a lusty young man ; you will not give your head for the washing ; you will stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done, in spite of your teeth?"

Haukes :—" What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it : but ye get my consent never the sooner."

Bonner :—" Well, you are a stubborn young man : I perceive I must work another way with you."

Haukes :—" Ye are in the hands of God ; and so am I."

Bonner :—" Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me."—And so we departed until evensong time ; and ere evensong was begun, my lord called for me to come to him into the chapel, and said ; " Haukes ! thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee ; I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul."

Haukes :—" That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing : there is no way to remove it."

Bonner :—" Nay, nay Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember Christ bade two go into his vineyard : the one said he would, and went not ; the other said he would not, and went."

Haukes :—" The last went."

Bonner :—" Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee ; how sayest thou ? It is in the sixth of St. John, ' I am the bread of life ; and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world : and whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is very drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.' Do ye believe this?"

Haukes :—" Yea, I must needs believe the Scriptures."

Bonner :—" Why ! then I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament."

Haukes :—" I beseech your lordship to feel my conscience no further than in that, that I was accused in unto you."

Bonner :—" Well, well ! let us go unto evensong."—With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.

Bonner :—" Why, will you not tarry evensong?"

Haukes :—" No, forsooth."

Bonner :—" And why?"

Haukes :—" For I will not."

Bonner :—" And why will ye not?"

Haukes :—" For because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin."

Bonner :—" Why ? you may pray by yourself. What books have ye?"

Haukes :—" I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter."

Bonner :—" Why, I pray you, tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter."

Haukes :—" I will not pray in this place, nor in any such."

Then said one of his chaplains, " Let him go, my lord ; and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers."

Haukes :—" I think myself best at ease when I am furthest from you."—And so the bishop went to evensong, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till evensong was done. And within an hour after that evensong was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself ; and when I came, there was he, and three of his chaplains.

Bonner :—" Ye know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any further, than in that ye were accused of."

Haukes :—" I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge."

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Haukes
will not
consent to
have his
child
christen-
ed after
the popish
order.

Bonner
entereth
talk of
the sacra-
ment.

Haukes
refuseth
to hear
Bonner's
evensong

Haukes
called for
again by
Bonner.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Haukes
knoweth
no sacra-
ment of
the altar.

The mat-
ter and
substance
of the sacra-
ment.

False con-
ceived
opinion of
Bonner
against
the Protes-
tants.

Bonner :—" Well, ye shall answer me to the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony."

Haukes :—" There are none of these, but I dare speak my conscience in them."

Bonner :—" The sacrament of the altar ye seem to be sound in."

Haukes :—" In the sacrament of the altar?—why sir, I do not know it."

Bonner :—" Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you."

Haukes :—" No, that shall ye never do."

Bonner :—" Yes, a faggot will make you do it."

Haukes :—" No, no, a point for your faggot! What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do; and more ye shall not do."

Bonner :—" Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ?"—and at that word he put off his cap.

Haukes :—" I do believe as Christ hath taught me."

Bonner :—" Why? did not Christ say, 'Take, eat, this is my body?'"

Haukes :—" Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach; neither did Christ ever teach it so to be."

Bonner :—" Why? the catholic church taught it so; and they were of Christ's church."

Haukes :—" How prove you it? The apostles never taught it so. Read Acts ii. and xx. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so."

Bonner :—" Ah sir! ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare."

Haukes :—" He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him."

Bonner :—" Why? then ye must eat a lamb, if ye will have but Christ's institution only."

Haukes :—" Nay, that is not so; before that Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament."

Bonner :—" Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution thereof."

Haukes :—" Then I would be glad to learn."

Bonner :—" Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn."

Haukes :—" Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you:"—and thus we concluded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed and said: "Jesu, Jesu! what a stubbornness and arrogantness is this!" And this was in his chamber where he lay. Then said the bishop to me, "Go ye down, and drink; for it is fasting day: it is Midsummer Even, but I think ye love neither fasting nor praying."

Haukes :—" I will never deny fasting, neither praying; so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain glory."

Bonner :—" I like you the better for that:" and so we left for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London: for Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Fulham. Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to mass, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their master. That night the bishop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the Monday morning, very early, the bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, "This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies."

Harpsfield :—" Christ used ceremonies. Did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?"

Haukes :—" I wot well that; but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto."

(1) Touching the necessary points of doctrine and sacraments, only the word is to be followed.

(2) Fasting and praying no man denieth.

(3) But Christ never made any ordinance or custom of that ceremony.

Harpsfield :—" I! admit your child die unchristened : what a heavy case stand you in!"

Mary.

Haukes :—" I admit that : if it do, what then?"

A.D.
1555.

Harpsfield :—" Marry, then are ye damned, and your child both."

Haukes :—" Judge you no further than ye may by the Scriptures."

Harpsfield :—" Do ye not know that your child is born in original sin?"

Haukes :—" Yes, that I do."

Harpsfield :—" How is original sin washed away?"

Haukes :—" By true faith and belief in Christ Jesus."

Harpsfield :—" How can your child, being an infant, believe?"

Haukes :—" The deliverance of it from sin, standeth in the faith of his parents."

Harpsfield :—" How prove you that?"

Haukes :—" By St. Paul, in I Cor. vii. : 'The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman; and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man; or else were your children unclean.'

The state
of chil-
dren
dying
without
baptism.

Believing
parents
sanctify
the child.

Harpsfield :—" I will prove that they whom thou putteth thy trust in, will be against thee in this opinion."

Haukes :—" Who be those?"

Harpsfield :—" Your great learned men in Oxford."

Haukes :—" If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them."

Bonner :—" Recant, recant. Do ye not know that Christ said, 'Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved?'"

Haukes :—" Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies, or no?"

Bonner :—" Partly it doth : what say you to that?"

Haukes :—" I say as St. Peter saith, 'Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God.'"

Harpsfield :—" Beware of pride, brother, beware of pride!"

Haukes :—" It is written, 'Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men.'"

Chris-
tianity
not out-
ward
cere-
monies.

Bonner :—" Let us make an end here.—How say you to the mass, sirra?"

Haukes :—" I say, it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing."

Bonner :—" What! nothing profitable in it? What say you to the epistle and gospel?"

Haukes :—" It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used."

Bonner :—" Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant : recant all, recant all."

Haukes :—" I have recanted nothing ; nor will do "

Bonner :—" How say you to 'Confiteor.'"

Haukes :—" I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus."

Bonner :—" To trust to any, we bid you not : but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you.² Do ye not know, when ye come into the court, ye cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy-chamber that are next to the king and queen?"

Haukes :—" They that list, receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them : and St. Paul saith, 'How should I call upon him, on whom I believe not?'"

Bonner :—" Will you have nobody to pray for you, when you be dead?"

Haukes :—" No, surely ; except you can prove it by the Scriptures."

Then the bishop pointed unto Harpsfield, and said unto me, "Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?"

Haukes :—" Yes, surely ; so long as we live, prayer is available of the righteous man : but this man's prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all."

Bonner :—" Will ye grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?"

Haukes :—" I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead."

Bonner :—" Not for the dead!"

Haukes :—" No, forsooth ; for David saith, 'No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make agreement unto God for him : for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever.'³ Also Ezekiel saith, 'Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves.'⁴

Praying
for the
dead.

(1) Eccles. x. (2) We ought not to believe in saints. Ergo, we ought not to call upon them.

(3) Psalm xlix.

(4) Ezek. xiv.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Then the bishop said to Harpsfield, "Sir, ye see this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the blessed saints. Well! I will trouble you no longer. I did call you, hoping that you should do some good on him; but it will not be."—And he said to me, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less."¹

Harpsfield :—"What books have you?"

Haukes :—"The New Testament, Solomon's Books, and the Psalter."

Harpsfield :—"Will you read any other books?"

Haukes :—"Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require."

Harpsfield :—"What books will you require?"

Haukes :—"Latimer's books, my lord of Canterbury's book, Bradford's sermons, Ridley's books."

Bonner :—"Away, away! He will have no books but such as maintain his heresies:"—and so they departed, for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford; and I went to the porter's lodge again.

The next day's Talk.

*See
Appendix*

The next day came thither an old bishop,² who had a pearl in his eye; and he brought with him to my lord a dish of apples, and a bottle of wine. For he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop: "this young man hath a child, and will not have it christened."

Haukes :—"I deny not baptism."

Bonner :—"Thou art a fool; thou canst not tell what thou wouldest have;"—and that he spake with much anger.

Haukes :—"A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger."

Bonner :—"Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith, am I not:"—and stroke himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, "Alas, good young man! you must be taught by the church, and by your ancients; and do as your forefathers have done before you."

Bonner :—"No, no! he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot, he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no not one. What say you to holy water?"

Haukes :—"I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them."

Bonner :—"Why, the Scriptures do allow it."

Haukes :—"Where prove you that?"

Bonner :—"In the Book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the water."³

Haukes :—"Ye say truth; that it is written 2 Kings ii. 'The children of the prophets came to Elizeus, saying, The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted.' This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water,⁴ and it became sweet and good: and so when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies."

Bonner :—"How say you to holy bread?"

Haukes :—"Even as I said to the other. What Scripture have you to defend it?"

Bonner :—"Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?"

Haukes :—"Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread."

Bonner :—"Look, I pray you, how captious this man is?"

Haukes :—"Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle; but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby."

Bonner :—"Ye believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles."

Haukes :—"No, forsooth; for Christ saith, 'These tokens shall follow them

Bonner
proveth
holy
bread by
the five
loaves
and three
fishes.

(1) Bonner, when he cannot overcome by doctrine, goeth about to oppress by authority.

(2) The bishop's name was Bird, bishop sometime of Chester, and suffragan before of Coventry, of whom read before.

(3) See how Bonner proveth holy water by the Scripture.

(4) Elizeus put salt in the water, not to wash away sin, but only to make the water sweet.

that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall cast out devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them.'"¹

Bonner :—"With what new tongues do ye speak?"

Haukes :—"Forsooth, whereas, before that I came to the knowledge of God's word, I was a foul blasphemers and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?"

Bonner :—"How do you cast out devils?"

Haukes :—"Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils."

Bonner :—"Did you ever drink any deadly poison?"

Haukes :—"Yea, forsooth, that I have; for I have drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome."

Bonner :—"Now you show yourself to be a right heretic."

Haukes :—"I pray you, what is heresy?"

Bonner :—"All things that are contrary to God's word."

Haukes :—"If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy to be so called."

Bonner :—"Thou art one; and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you."

Haukes :—"Where prove you that Christ or his apostles did kill any man for his faith?"²

Bonner :—"Did not Paul excommunicate?"

Haukes :—"Yes, my lord; but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning."

Bonner :—"Have ye not read of the man and the woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?"

Haukes :—"Yes, forsooth; I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which serveth nothing to your purpose."

Bonner :—"Well, you will grant one yet."

Haukes :—"Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then show mercy; for that God requireth."

Bonner :—"We will show such mercy unto you, as ye showed unto us: for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon."³

Haukes :—"I pray ye, my lord, what do you give him now that was in the bishopric or benefice before that ye came again to it?"—Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, saying, that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, because I was so earnest: and so he departed, and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again. After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber: "for I would be glad," said he, "if ye could convert him." So he took me into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said to me, "I would to God I could do you some good. Ye are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat."

Haukes :—"I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the word of God." And I looked that the old bishop should have made me an answer, and he was fast asleep.—Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again, and there saw I the old bishop last: I suppose he is not yet awake.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

How converted
Christians do
speak
with
tongues.

Bonner
a heretic
by his
own defini-
tion.

Haukes
called for
again to
talk with
the old
bishop.

Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said, "Are ye he, that will have no ceremonies?"

Haukes :—"What mean you by that?"

Fecknam :—"Ye will not have your child christened but in English; and you will have no ceremonies."

Haukes :—"Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not."

Fecknam :—"Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures."

(1) Mark xvi.

(2) The papists do beside God's book, in burning men for their faith.

(3) This bishop here forgetteth his lesson, "Benedicitesequentibus vos."

Mary. Haukes :—" Which be those ?"

Fecknam :—" How say you by Paul's breeches ?"¹

A. D. Haukes :—" I have read no such thing."

1555. *Fecknam :*—" Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby ?"

Haukes :—" I have read in Acts xix. how there went partlets and napkins from Paul's body : is it that that you mean ?"

Fecknam :—" Yea the same is it : what say you to those ceremonies ?"²

Haukes :—" I say nothing to the ceremonies ; for the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, etc. So that it seemed by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies."

Fecknam :—" How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture ?³—Did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony ?"

Fecknam taken short in his own tale.

Haukes :—" No, forsooth ; for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, ' Who is it that toucheth me ? ' And Peter said, ' Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me ? Somebody hath touched me,' saith Christ ; ' for virtue hath gone out of me.'—I pray you, whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture ?"

Fecknam :—" Both."

Haukes :—" Then is not Christ true ; for he said, ' Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole.'"

Bonner :—" Away, away to the sacrament ; for these are but mere trifles to that."

Fecknam :—" How say ye, sirrah ? Christ took bread,⁴ and brake it, and said, ' Take, eat ; this is my body.'"⁵

Haukes :—" I grant Christ said so."

Fecknam :—" And is it not so ?"

Haukes :—" No, forsooth ; I do not understand it so."

Fecknam :—" Why, then is Christ a liar ?"

Haukes :—" I think ye will so prove him."

Fecknam :—" Will I ?—why I have spoken the words that Christ spake."

Haukes :—" Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it ? Christ said, I am a door, a vine ; I am a king, a way,⁶ etc."

Fecknam :—" Christ spake these word in parables."

Haukes :—" And why speaketh he this in parables, when he said, ' I am a door, a vine, a king, a way,' etc. more than this, when he said, ' This is my body ?'—for after the same phrase of speech, as he saith, ' This is my body : ' so saith he, ' I am a door, a vine, a king, a way ; ' he saith not, ' I am like a door, like a vine,' etc."

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, " I had such a one before me this other day. Alas ! these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford."

Haukes :—" What mean you by that ?"

Fecknam :—" I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley."

See Appendix.

Haukes :—" I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned."

Fecknam falleth out of his matter to railing.

Fecknam :—" Wilt thou trust to such dolts ? One of them hath written a book, wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament."

Haukes :—" What he hath done, I know not ; but what he doth, I know."

Fecknam :—" Ridley hath preached at Paul's Cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you : for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread, and ye will not believe Christ's body is in the blessed sacrament : and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them."

Haukes buildeth his faith upon no man.

Haukes :—" I build my faith upon no man, and that shall ye well know : for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant, and deny that they have said or done, yet will I stand to it ; and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man."

(1) Fecknam's reason lieth in Paul's breeches !

(2) Fecknam maketh every act spoken of in the New Testament to be a ceremony.

(3) Mark v. Luke viii.

(4) Fecknam driven in a strait, driveth Haukes to the sacrament.

(5) It is his sacramental body, or the sacrament of his body, but not his true body.

(6) The words of Christ are to be understood, not as he spake, but as he meant them.

Bonner :—" If any of those recant, what will ye say to it?"

Haukes :—" When they recant, I will make you answer."

Bonner :—" Then thou wilt say as thou dost now, for all that."

Haukes :—" Yea, indeed, will I, and that, trust to it, by God's grace."

Bonner :—" I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living."¹ And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

Talk between Haukes and Chedsey.

The next day came Dr. Chedsey to the bishop; *and² then was I called into the garden before the bishop* and him. The bishop declared unto him, that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chedsey, "Then he denieth the order of the catholic church."

Bonner :—" Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany."

Haukes :—" And ye think that there is no church, but the church of Rome."

Chedsey :—" What say ye to the church of Rome?"

Haukes :—" I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit nor believe."

Chedsey :—" How say ye to the bishop of Rome?"

Haukes :—" From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Chedsey :—" Marry, so may we say, from king Henry the Eighth, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us."

Haukes :—" Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not say so?"

Chedsey :—" I was not far."

Haukes :—" Where were ye in his son's days?"

Chedsey :—" In prison."

Haukes :—" It was not for your well-doing."

Bonner :—" He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, neither the sacrament of the altar, can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English."

Chedsey :—" Christ never spake English."³

Haukes :—" Neither spake he ever any Latin; but always in such a tongue as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul saith, 'That tongues profit us nothing.' He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle: so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than *he* hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth."

Chedsey :—" If he understand Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a prophecy, 'If one prophecy to you in tongues,' etc."

Haukes :—" Forsooth Paul speaketh plainly of tongues; for tongues serve not for them that believe."

Chedsey :—" I tell you Paul speaketh altogether upon prophecy."

Haukes :—" Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, 'That if any man speak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God: and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course; and let the other judge. And if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace:' so that it seemeth that Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying."

Bonner :—" The order was taken in the catholic church that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue; and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world."

Haukes :—" This did your councils of Rome conclude."

Bonner :—" Understand ye what the general councils of Rome meant?"

Haukes :—" Indeed all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them."

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

*See
Appendix*

The
church of
Rome.

The
bishop of
Rome.

An in-
stance
given
against
Chedsey.

Latin ser-
vice.

General
councils
of Rome.

(1) Bonner judgeth other men by his own sort.

(2) See Editions 1563 and 1570.—En.

(3) Chedsey's argument: Christ never spake English: ergo, we must not pray in English.

- Mary.* *Chedsey* :—"Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world."
- A. D.* *Haukes* :—"I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, saying, 'If any
1555. man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed.'"
- Chedsey* :—"Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?"
- Haukes* :—"Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house."¹
- Chedsey* :—"What gospel have ye been taught?"
- Haukes* :—"Praying to saints and to our Lady, and trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols."
- Chedsey* :—"He that teaches you so, teacheth not amiss."
- Haukes* :—"Cursed be he that teacheth me so; for I will not trust him nor believe him!"
- Bonner* :—"You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean."
- Idols.* *Haukes* :—"God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised by man's hand, contrary to God's word, that same is an idol. What say you to that?"
- Chedsey* :—"What be those that ye are so offended withal?"
- The cross.* *Haukes* :—"The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, etc."
- Bonner* :—"What say ye to that?"
- Haukes* :—"I say it is an idol. What say *you* to it?"
- Images.* *Bonner* :—"I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol."
- Haukes* :—"I say, what difference is there between an idol and image?"
- Bonner's definition of an idol.* *Bonner* :—"If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God."
- Haukes* :—"Lay your image of your true God, and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not?—and even so have your idols."
- Chedsey* :—"‘God forbid,’ saith St. Paul, ‘that I should rejoice in any thing else, but in the cross of Christ Jesus.’"
- Haukes* :—"Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul?"—unto the which he answered me never a word.
- Bonner* :—"Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?"
- Haukes* :—"If the cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with ‘Salve, festa dies?’"
- Chedsey* :—"It was taken up."
- The people seduced by false pieces of the holy cross.* *Haukes* :—"Who took it up? Helene, as ye say; for she sent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul, committing idolatry to it) was called for; and when it was proved, and all came to all, it was but a piece of a lath, covered over with copper, double gilded as it had been clean gold!"
- Bonner* :—"Fie, fie! I dare say thou slanderest it."
- Haukes* :—"I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary."—And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great fume: and Chedsey said unto me, as he was about to depart, "It is pity that thou shouldest live, or any such as thou art." I answered, "In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die."
- Chedsey* :—"Ye die boldly, because ye would glory in your death,³ as Joan Butcher⁴ did."
- Haukes* :—"What Joan Butcher did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to-morrow."—"God make you in a better mind," said they both; and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Chedsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done: and then came the porter for me,

(1) Other doctrine taught in the church of Rome than ever Paul taught

(2) Note here how grossly Chedsey understandeth the words of St. Paul.

(3) Note here discreetly the spirit of Chedsey.

4) See vol v. p. 699.—E.D.

and said, "My lord would have you come to the sermon."—And so I went to the chapel-door, and stood without the door.

Bonner :—"Is not this fellow come?"

Haukes :—"Yes, I am here."

Bonner :—"Come in, man."

Haukes :—"No, that I will not." He called again, and I answered, "I will come no nearer;" and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, "Go to your sermon."

Then Dr. Chedsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy water-sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him and gave him holy water, and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was in Matthew xvi. "Whom do men say that I the Son of man am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John Baptist, some say thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ the Son of the ever-living God." Then left he the text there, and said, "Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound:" "which authority," said he, "is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at sith the beginning: yet kick the heretics, spurn the heretics never so much, the church doth stand and flourish."—And then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above the heaven (as the most of them do); and so returned to his place again, saying, "Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven:" and so he applied it to the bishops and the priests to forgive sins, and said, "All that be of the church will come and receive the same." And this he proved by St. John (chap. xi.), saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, who when he was risen, was bound in bands: "then said Christ to them that were in authority (who were his disciples), go ye and loose him; loose him you." And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles: and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

Haukes
will not
come into
Bonner's
chapel.

Chedsey's
sermon
theme.

Chedsey
exalteth
the sacra-
ment.

Scripture
clerkly
applied.

Another Communication between Thomas Haukes and the Bishop.

And, after dinner, I was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants, and other strangers whom I did not know.

Bonner :—"Haukes! how like you the sermon?"

Haukes :—"As I like all the rest of his doctrine."

Bonner :—"What! are ye not edified thereby?"

Haukes :—"No, surely."

Bonner :—"It was made only because of you."

Haukes :—"Why? then am I sorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded."

Bonner :—"Well, I will leave you here, for I have business: I pray you talk with him, for if ye could do him good," said he, "I would be glad."

This the bishop spake to the queen's men, who said, unto me, "Alas! what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?"

Haukes :—"Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority: and unless I see you have a further commission, I will answer you nothing at all." Then said the bishop's men (which were many), "My lord hath commanded you to talk with them."

Haukes :—"If my lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him." They cried, "Faggots! burn him, hang him, to prison with him: it is pity that he liveth! Lay irons upon him!" and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

Haukes
refuseth
to talk
with the
queen's
men.

The next day's Talk.

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber, and said, "Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate."

*Mary.**Haukes* :—" My lord, you can do me no better pleasure."A. D.
1555.*Bonner* :—" Why, would you so fain go to prison?"*Haukes* :—" Truly I did look for none other, when I came to your hands."Bonner
showeth
Haukes
articles
in writ-
ing.*Bonner* :—" Come on your ways ; ye shall see what I have written."—Then did he show me certain articles, and these are the contents of them :

" Whether the catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these : ' Is not the bread which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless, the partaking of the blood of Christ?' which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it."

Haukes :—" What your church doth, I cannot tell : but I am sure that the holy catholic church doth neither so take it, nor believe it."

Bonner :—" Whether doth the catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?"

Answers
of
Haukes.

Haukes :—" I answered to it, as I did to the other question before." Then did the bishop with much flattery counsel me to be persuaded, and to keep me out of prison, which I utterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to prison ; and so I had, save for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and [who] began to persuade me concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies : and after much talk he said, "that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross."

Talk be-
tween
Haukes
and
Harps-
field.A ques-
tion put
to Harps-
field.

Haukes :—" He was upon the cross both alive and dead : which of them was the sacrament?" The archdeacon answered, "alive."

Haukes :—" How prove you that?"

Harpsfield :—" You must believe. Doth not St. John say, 'He is already condemned that believeth not?'"

Haukes :—" St. John saith, 'He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned,' but he saith not, 'He that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned.'"

Harpsfield :—" There is no talk with you ; for ye are both without faith and learning ; and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture."

Another
question
put to
him
about the
roodloft.

Then two that stood by bade me [Haukes] enter further in talk with him ; and then said I unto him, "Why is the roodloft set betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?"

Harpsfield :—" I cannot tell ; for ye have asked a question which you cannot assail yourself."

Haukes :—" Yes, that I can : for this saith one of your own doctors : 'that the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant : and so, because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we must bear the cross of Christ ; this is the cause of the roodloft being between the body of the church and the chancel.'"

Harpsfield :—" This is well and clerkly concluded."

Haukes :—" As all the rest of your doctrine is :"—and so, with many persuasions on his part, we ended, and so departed : and I, to the porter's lodge again.

Another day's Talk.

The next day in the morning, which was the 1st day of July, the bishop did call me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to prison, and to take such things with me, as I had of mine own. And I said, "I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing." Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop's men, brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me both to the keeper : and this was contained in the warrant.

The
bisl.op's
warrant.

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice : for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism ; a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days."

And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, "My lord would be glad to know how ye do." I answered them, "I do, like a poor prisoner." They said, "My lord would know, whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed." I said, "I am no changeling." They said, "My lord would be glad that ye should do well." I said, "If my lord will me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me." So they said they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me Thomas Haukes, being examined by Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to prison to Westminster: and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the 3d day of September.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

The bishop's men sent to Haukes in the Gate-house.

Here followeth the second time of mine Examination, the which was the 3d day of September: for the Bishop did send his men for me to come to his palace of London; and so my keeper and his men brought me to his palace the same day.

The bishop of Winchester, then being chancellor, preached that day at Paul's Cross, and the bishop of London said to my keeper, "I think your man will not go to the sermon to-day."

Haukes:—"Yes my lord, I pray you let me go: and that which is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me;" and so I went. And when the sermon was done, I and my keeper came to the bishop's house, and there we remained till dinner was done: and after dinner the bishop called for me, and asked me, if I were the same man that I was before."

Haukes:—"I am no changeling, nor none will be."

Bonner:—"Ye shall find me no changeling neither."—And so he returned into his chamber, and there he did write the side of a sheet of paper, and all that while I stood in the great chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the chamber. And as I stood there, Dr. Smith came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeareth in print) saying, that he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, "He is Dr. Smith." Then said I, "Are you he that did recant?" And he said, "it was no recantation, but a declaration."

Dr. Smith cometh to Haukes. Smith's recantation.

See Appendix.

Haukes:—"You were best to term it well, for your own honesty."

Dr. Smith:—"Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?"

Haukes:—"To be short with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you:"—and so I departed from him to the other side of the chamber. Then said the bishop's men and his chaplains, that my lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by cried with a great noise, "Hang him, burn him! it is pity that he liveth, that disobeyeth my lord's commandment."

Then said one Miles Huggard, "Where prove you that infants were baptized?"

Miles Huggard.

Haukes:—"Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Sir, here is none excepted."

Master Huggard:—"What, shall we go to teach children?"

Haukes:—"That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name Miles Huggard?"

Huggard:—"So am I called."

Haukes:—"Be you not a hosier, and dwell in Pudding-lane?"

Huggard:—"Yes, that I am, and there I do dwell."

Haukes:—"It would seem so, for ye can better skill to eat a pudding, and make a hose, than in Scripture either to answer or t'apose." With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I desired that some man would take the pain to walk the gentleman, he did fret so for anger. Then one that stood by me (who was parson of Hornchurch and Romford in Essex) said, "Alas, what do you mean: a young man to be so stubborn? There seemeth too much pride in you."

Huggard more meet to eat a pudding than to dispute of Scripture.

Haukes:—"Are not ye the parson of Hornchurch?"

Parson:—"Yes, that I am."

Mary. Haukes :—" Did you not set such a priest in your benefice?"

A. D. Parson :—" Yes, for a shift."

1555. Haukes :—" Like will to like ; such master, such man ; for I know that priest to be a very vile man, as any could be."

Parson of Horn-church compared to the weather-cock of Paul's.

I asked the parson, what kin he was to the weather-cock of Paul's? and he fell in a great laughter with the rest of his companions. He said, that I did rail. Then said another that stood by unto me; what book have you here? I answered, "The New Testament." "May I look in it?" said he. "Yea, that ye may," said I. And so he looked in my book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, "If the things contained in it be true, then are ye all false prophets." He said that he would appose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, "Here is a generation of Christ:" and Esay saith, "No man can tell his generation."¹

Haukes :—" What meaneth Esay by that?"

"I would learn of you," said he.

Haukes :—" Ye would be angry, if the scholar should learn the master : but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you Esay's meaning."

Then said he, "No man can tell the generation between the father and the son : but you (I dare say) did know it before."

Haukes :—" Why then Esay denieth not the generation."

Then said he, "Why is Christ called Christ?"

Haukes :—" Because he is a Messias."

Then said he, "Why is he called a Messias?"

Haukes :—" Because he was so prophesied by the prophets."

Frivolous questions.

Then said he, "Why is your book called a book?"

Haukes :—" These words do breed more strife than godly edifying."

"Beware," said he, "that ye do not decline from the church ; for if you do, you will prove yourself a heretic."

Haukes :—" Even as ye do call us heretics, that do incline to Christ's church from your church ; so are ye all false prophets that do decline from Christ's church to your own church. And by this shall all men know you to be false prophets,² if ye say, 'This saith the church : ' and will not say, 'This saith our Lord.'"—And so he went his way, as though he had a flea in his ear.

Then came another and said unto me, he would talk with me ; for he perceived (as he said), that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes :—" I will see your commission, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more."—For I wist not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me ; for I said, that I came to talk with my lord, and not with any of them.

The bishop writeth Haukes's confession.

With that came the bishop, bringing a letter in his hand, the which he had written in my name, and read it unto me after this manner. "I, Thomas Haukes, do here confess and declare before my said ordinary Edmund, bishop of London, that the mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all superstition ; and also as concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (commonly called the sacrament of the altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in heaven : this I have believed, and this I do believe," etc

Haukes :—" Stop there, my lord : what I have believed, what have you to do withal? But what I do believe, to that stand I, and will."—Then he took his pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did to my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, "I, Thomas Haukes, have talked with my said ordinary, and with certain good, godly, and learned men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine opinion."

Haukes :—" Shall I grant you to be good, godly, and learned men, and yet grant myself to stand in a contrary opinion? No, I will not grant you to be good, godly, and learned men."

Bonner :—" Ye will grant that ye have talked with us : the other I will put out for your pleasure." Then said all his doctors, "If your lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together." And then he read more to me : "Here unto this bill have I set my hand ;" and then he offered me the bill and his pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

(1) Isaiah liiii.

(2) Difference between the true prophets and the false. The false prophets say, "Dicit Ecclesia;" "Thus saith the church." The true prophets say, "Dicit Dominus;" "Thus saith the Lord."

Haukes :—"Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising."

Bonner :—"Wilt not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it."

And then he called all his doctors, and said, he would have every man's hand to it that was in the chamber; and so he had all their hands to it and said, "He that will not set his hand to it, I would he were hanged;" and so said all his chaplains and doctors with a great noise.

Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

Haukes :—"Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave."

Bonner :—"This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it."

Haukes :—"As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them: for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool."

Bonner :—"I will be even with you when time shall come."

Haukes :—"You may in your malice destroy a man: but, when ye have done, ye cannot do so much as make a finger; and ye be meetly even with some of us already."

Bonner :—"If I do thee any wrong, take the law of me."

Haukes :—"Solomon saith, 'Go not to law with a judge; for he will judge according to his own honour.'"

Bonner :—"Solomon saith, 'Give not a fool an answer.'"

Haukes :—"What! do you count me a fool?"

Bonner :—"Yea, by my troth do I; and so dost thou me too: but God forgive thee,¹ and so do I."

Haukes :—"Thought is free, my lord." Then took Bonner the bill, and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes :—"What needeth that ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind." Then he wrapt it up, and put it in his bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his horse and went horse-back; for the same day he rode in visitation into Essex. And so went I to prison, from whence I came with my keeper. And this was the second time of my examination.

Written by me Thomas Haukes, who desire all faithful men and brethren to pray unto God, to strengthen me in his truth unto the end.—Pray, pray, pray, gentle brethren pray!

The Public Examination of Thomas Haukes, at the Bishop's Consistory.²

After all these private conferenees, persuasions, and long debatinges, had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop, seeing no hope to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes, shortly after, was cited with the rest of his other fellows above specified, to wit, Thomas Tomkins, Stephen Knight, William Pygot, John Laurence, and William Hunter, to appear in the bishop's Consistory, the 8th day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the other, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to the which bill ye heard before how this blessed servant of God denied to subscribe.

After which bill of confession being read, and he constantly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these foresaid six prisoners being severally called before the bishop, at the coming of Thomas

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Haukes
will not
set his
hand to it.
Bonner
in a fume.

The first
day's ses-
sion.

The
second.

(1) And even now ye said, you would be even with him.

(2) Ex Registro.

Marg. Haukes, the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. "Well,"
A. D. 1555.
Answer of Haukes. quoth master Haukes again, "I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me." Then were certain other interrogatories or articles commenced against him by the said bishop (in like manner as to the other) to the number of four, with another bill also, which Bonner brought out of his bosom, containing private matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errors, but *we* may better call them christian verities. To the which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was; with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the 9th day of February. In the afternoon again the said Haukes appearing and hearing the foresaid bill of his confession, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like constancy in answering again to the bishop, "My lord," said he, "as you, being my great friend, have caused these my sayings to be written; so do you cause them to be read: and yet I will never go from them." And then, being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church: "No, my lord," said he, "that will I not: for if I had a hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant." And so continuing still in the same song, notwithstanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he lived. Whereupon Bonner, at the last, read the sentence of death upon him; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the Lord Riche, who, being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the foresaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow-prisoners whose stories hereafter follow, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coggeshall, the others severally in other several places.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhortation to his friends; and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

Agreed between Haukes and friends to give them a token in the fire, etc.
 A little before his death, certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy, and by his talk; yet notwithstanding, the same again, being feared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired that in the midst of the flame he would show them some token, if he could, whereby they might be the more certain, whether the pain of such burning were so great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do; and so, secretly between them, it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost. Not long after, when the hour was come, Thomas

Haukes was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Riche and his assistants, who, being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side compassing him about: unto whom after he had spoken many things, especially unto the lord Riche, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of the saints; at length after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him. In the which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly, and contrary to all expectation, the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise afore made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as it seemed, struck or clapped them three times together. At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of them which understood the matter, that the like hath not commonly been heard,*and¹ you would have thought heaven and earth to have come together.* And so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, A.D. 1555, June 10. And thus have you plainly and expressly described unto you the whole story, as well of the life, as of the death of Thomas Haukes, a most constant and faithful witness of Christ's holy gospel.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Haukes
standing
at the
stake,
reasoneth
with the
lord
Riche.

A token
given in
the fire,
that burn-
ing is not
so intoler-
able a
pain as it
was
thought.
The end
and mar-
tyrdom of
Haukes
at Cogge-
shall.

LETTERS.

An Epistle to the Congregation, by Thomas Haukes.

Grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be alway with you all (my dear brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ for ever); and his Holy Spirit conduct and lead you all, in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his holy word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may, as obedient children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting kingdom, with your lamps burning; and, when the bridegroom shall show himself, ye need not to be ashamed of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour that for a season appeareth and vanisheth away: so soon passeth away all our terrestrial honour, glory, and felicity. "For all flesh," saith the prophet, "is grass, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a season showeth her beauty, and as soon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth." For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are as pilgrims and strangers following the footsteps of Moses, among many unspeakable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind; subject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, sickness, loss, labours, banishment; in danger of that dreadful dragon, and his sinful seed, to be devoured, tempted and tormented, who ceaseth not behind every bush to lay a bait, when we walk awry to have his pleasure upon us; casting abroad his apples in all places, times, and seasons, to see if Adam will be allured and enticed to leave the living God and his most holy commandments, whereby he is assured of everlasting life; promising the world at will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mess of pottage sell and set at naught the everlasting kingdom of heaven. So frail is flesh and blood; and, in especial, Israel is most ready to walk awry, when he is filled with all manner of riches, as saith the prophet.

Therefore I am bold in bonds (as entirely desiring your everlasting health and felicity) to warn you, and most heartily desire you, to watch and pray; for

The
manifold
danger
which a
true
christian
hath to
pass
through
in this
world.

Mary. our estate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high mountains, doth not grow most plenty of grass, neither are the highest trees farthest from danger, but seldom sure, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (saith our Saviour) is honour and riches, that without grace it choketh up the good seed sown on his creatures, and blindeth so their seeing, that they go groping at noonday in darkness: it maketh a man think himself somewhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our honour we esteem ourselves and stand in our own light, yet when we shall stand before the living God, there shall be no respect of persons: for "riches help not in the day of vengeance; neither can we make the Lord partial, for money."¹ But as ye have ministered unto the saints, so shall ye receive the reward, which I am fully persuaded and assured shall be plenteously poured upon you all, for the great goodness showed unto the servants of the living God. And I most heartily beseech Almighty God to pour forth a plenteous reward upon you for the same, and that he will assist you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto such a perfection as may be to God's honour, your own salvation, and the strengthening of the weak members of Christ. For though the world rage, and blaspheme the elect of God, ye know that it did so unto Christ, his apostles, and to all that were in the primitive church, and shall be, unto the world's end.

The
higher
in dignity
the
nearer to
danger.
Riches
help not
before
God.

God's
elect
always
bear the
slander in
this
world.

Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, lest it be taken away from you; if you shall seem to neglect the great mercy of God that hath been opened unto you (and your hearts consented unto it), that it is the very and only truth pronounced by God's only Son Jesus Christ, by the good will of our heavenly Father: therefore I say, in the bowels of my Lord Jesus Christ, stick fast unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and conversation, that you with us and we with you at the great day, being one flock as we have one shepherd, may rise to the life immortal, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour. Amen.

Yours in him that liveth for ever,

Thomas Haukes.

Here followeth another letter of Thomas Haukes, sent to his wife after his condemnation, being prisoner in Newgate; the copy whereof is this:

The Copy of a Letter of Thomas Haukes to his Wife.

Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, to deliver us from this present evil world, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me (I trust to his glory, and to the comfort of all those that look for his coming), I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some lessons out of God's book; wherefore if you will direct yourself thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refuseth none that will come to him with their whole heart, will assist you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his honour and glory, who grant it for his mercy sake. Amen.

Lessons
for in-
structions
to his
wife.

First, I exhort you to fear God; to serve and honour his holy name; to love him with all your heart, soul, and mind; to believe faithfully all his promises; to lay sure hold upon them, that in all your troubles, whatsoever they are, ye may run straight to the great mercy of God, and he will bring you forth of them. Keep you within his wings; then shall ye be sure that neither devil, flesh, nor hell, shall be able to hurt you.

He ex-
horteth
her to be
ware of
idolatry.
Idolatry
punished
of God.

But take heed; if you will not keep his holy precepts and laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the same, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked world, and do as they do; then be sure to have your part with the wicked world in the burning lake that never shall be quenched. Therefore beware of idolatry, which doth most of all stink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men most detested from the beginning of the world. For the which, what kingdoms, nations, and realms, God hath punished with most terrible plagues, with fire,

brimstone, hunger, sword, and pestilence, etc., to the utter subversion of them, it is manifestly to be seen through the whole Bible. Yea, his own peculiar people, whom he had done so much for, when they fell from him and went and served other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the earth: and as many as died in that damnable state, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the pit of hell. Again, how he hath preserved those that abhor superstition and idolatry, and that have only taken hold upon God with their whole heart, to serve him, and to love him, to fear him, etc.:—it is most manifestly to be seen even from the beginning, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: yea, when all hope of deliverance was past as touching their expectation, even then, in the sight of all his enemies, would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all those that were his manifest enemies.

Further, I exhort you, in the bowels of Christ, that you will exercise and be steadfast in prayer; for prayer is the only mean to pierce the heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsoever we desire; so that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and succour, in necessities and troubles, and he hath promised to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help (for there was none found worthy to open the book, but only the Lamb Christ which was killed for our sins), I say, who that will refuse his help, must even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confusion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be seen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for Jesus Christ's sake, for whom and in whom God hath promised to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the first and second calling, yet continue still knocking, and he will at the length open his treasures of mercy, so that ye shall be sure to obtain; for he hath so promised, if we continue in faith, hoping surely in him. These former lessons, with all such instructions as I have told you by mouth, I do wish that you would most earnestly learn; and then I doubt not, but God who is the giver of all grace, will assist you in all your doings, that ye may be found worthy of his kingdom, which is prepared through Christ.

Further, whereas it hath pleased God to send us children: my desire is that they may be brought up in the fear of God and in his laws. And this is to certify you, that ye deliver in any wise my eldest son unto master Throgmorton,¹ who, upon his good will, hath promised me to bring him up according to my desire; and, I trust, as God hath put into his heart. See therefore that ye deliver him in any wise without delay: and as for the other, if ye shall seem to be burdened with him (which I think nature will not suffer), my desire is, that it be brought up in the fear of God to the uttermost of your endeavour, with some honest man that hath the fear of God before his eyes; and let us give thanks unto God who hath given them us, beseeching him that they may be counted worthy to be of that flock that shall stand on the right hand of the majesty of God, when he shall judge the world, Amen.

Yet once again I warn you, that ye continue in fervent prayer, as I said before; then shall ye be sure, that God, even of his own mercy, according as he hath promised, will be a husband unto you, and provide better for you than ever I was able to do; yea, he will cause all men that fear him to pity you, to help you, to succour you in all your necessities, so that if any will do you wrong, he will be avenged on him. Moreover I wish you to keep company with those of whom ye may learn to come to a more perfect knowledge in God, and I doubt not but God will provide that such will be glad to receive you, if you shall profess and go forward in his truth.

Finally, and to make an end, I desire you that ye take heed with whom ye couple yourself. See that he be a man that feareth God, loveth his laws, and will walk in the same to the uttermost of his power: such a one as can be content to love you, and to care for you. Take heed he be no brawler, no drunkard, no wicked person, not given to filthiness, no worldling, no dicer, nor carder: in fine, no filthy person, but choose you such a one as God may be glorified in both your lives. And again, on your part, love him, serve him, obey him in all godliness,

*Marg.*A.D.
1555.Exhortation
to prayer.Praying
to God,
and not to
creatures.To continue
in
prayer,
and to
pray only
in the
name of
Christ.Care for
his chil-
dren.Keeping
of good
company.Exhortation
to
take heed
whom she
marrieth,
and that
she marry
in the
Lord.

(1) He meaneth master Clement Throgmorton, who desired to have the bringing up of his child.

Marg. as long as God shall give you life in this world. Then shall ye both be sure to obtain that kingdom which God the Father hath prepared, and Jesus Christ obtained for you, that never shall have end, where I trust to abide your coming, Amen.

A. D.
1555.

By your husband,

Thomas Haukes.

Ye heard before, in the Letter of Thomas Haukes written to his wife, mention made concerning his eldest son to be sent to master Throgmorton. Now what he writeth himself to the said master Throgmorton touching the same matter, by this his letter to the said party hereunder ensuing, may appear.

A Letter of Thomas Haukes to Master Clement Throgmorton.

Grace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, and assist you in all your thoughts, words, and works, that he in all things, as most worthy, may be glorified, and that the blessing of Abraham may be poured plenteously on you and all your posterity.

Whereas the love of God hath moved you to require my son to be brought up before your eyes, and the selfsame love hath also moved me in like case to leave him in your hands, as unto a father in mine absence, I shall require you in God's behalf according to your promise, that ye will see him brought up in the fear of the Lord, and instructed in the knowledge of his holy word, that he may thereby learn to leave the evil, and know the good, and always be pricked forward with fatherly instructions to follow my footsteps, that as Almighty God hath made me worthy, through his special grace, to work his will in obedience, he may learn to follow me his Father in the like, to God's honour and praise : and this I require you in God's behalf to fulfil, or cause to be fulfilled, as ye, before the living God, will make answer for the same. I have left for the child certain books which shall be delivered unto you, wherein his instruction and salvation lieth, if he learn and practise the same. And thus most humbly beseeching you, once again, to be as good to him, as your promise was unto me, that is, to be a father, and a wall of defence unto him in all troubles, I leave him in your hand through the Lord Jesus, and desire him to bless both him and you according to his good promise : and all that good which ye shall do unto him, I shall most heartily desire the everlasting God to recompense unto you in his kingdom, where I hope to meet both him and you among all God's elect. To which God be all praise, honour, and glory. Amen.

Yours and all men's in Christ Jesus,

Thomas Haukes.

The History of Thomas Wats,

EXAMINED, TRIED, AND BURNT FOR THE TRUTH OF THE GOSPEL.

Wats disposed his goods before he is apprehended.

Thomas Wats of Billericay, within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen draper ; who, before he was apprehended, had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his things, being set in order, to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by God's adversaries and his, as shortly after came indeed to pass ; so that, upon the 26th day of April, he was apprehended and brought before the lord Riche, and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there, being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the lord Riche, Henry Tyrrel, sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, justice Gaudy, etc. : the sum and principal effect of which examination, hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

THE EXAMINATION OF THOMAS WATS BEFORE THE LORD RICHE,
AND OTHER COMMISSIONERS.

Marg.

A. D.
1555.

When this Thomas Wats came before the lord Riche and other the justices, whose names are specified in the letter following (which they sent unto the bishop of London against him), at the sessions at Chelmsford, the lord Riche said these words or the like in effect unto him. "Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and the queen's laws. Ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear mass, etc., but have your conventicles a sort of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings." Unto which his words Wats answered and said: "My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law." Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him, "Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster to teach thee this gear, or where didst thou first learn this religion?" "Forsooth," quoth Wats, "even of you, sir: you taught it me, and none more than you. For in king Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used; no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ: and you said then, whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered."

The words of lord Riche to Wats.

Anthony Brown a gospeller in king Edward's days, and a persecutor in queen Mary's days

Then said Brown to my lord Riche, "He belies me my lord. What a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face:"—and my lord Riche said again, "I dare say he doth so."

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of king Philip and of his coming in; but what it was, I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, "Treason!" saving one good man called justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak: but, when he heard them cry "treason," he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

Justice Gaudy, a good man.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such high matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up, as the contents thereof hereunder follow to be seen.

A Letter sent by certain Justices in Essex to Bonner Bishop of London.

After our most hearty commendations to your good lordship, these shall be to advertise you, that at our sessions of Oyer and Terminer holden at Chelmsford the 26th day of April last past, there came before us in open court one Thomas Wats of Billericay within your diocese, by ordinary process; and then and there being examined why he refused to come to his parish church, and there to receive the sacrament of the altar, and hear divine service, according to the institution of holy church, he openly there answered generally, that like as the service of the church set out in the days of the late king Edward VI. was said by us now to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught: so he said, that all that is now used and done in that church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught, with divers other erroneous, and arrogant words: and therefore we have thought good to send him to your lordship, to be further examined by you of his particular opinions, as, to your pastoral office,

Wats sent up by the justices of Essex to Bonner.

Mary. shall seem convenient; certifying you further, that in our opinion he is one of the most arrogant heretics that hath been heard speak, or ever came before you, and not meet to be kept here in any gaol, as well for fear of corrupting others, as for divers and sundry other special causes hereafter to be more declared. Thus leaving to molest your good lordship, we commit you to the Holy Ghost. —Given at Chelmsford the 27th of April, Anno 1555.

Your good Lordship's most assured,

The
names of
the jus-
tices.

R. Riche.

Henry Tyrrel.

Anthony Brown.

Edmund Tyrrel.

Thomas Mildmay.

John Wiseman.

Roger Appleton.

Richard Weston.

Now when the bishop had received him, how he used him it is easy (by his common practices with others) to judge. What his private conferences were, I know not, but what was publicly done in the Consistory at Paul's (the common stage for these tragedies), you shall here see.

THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THOMAS WATS IN THE BISHOP'S CONSISTORY.

First upon Thursday, being the 2d day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the bishop of London; and there, being examined upon his words had before the lord Riche and others (as is contained in their letters), he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following, to the which he answered, as under may appear.

*See
Appendix*

Articles objected against Thomas Wats of Billericay in the County of Essex, within the Diocese of London, by Bonner Bishop there, as ensueth.

I. First, that the said Thomas Wats was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

Sacra-
ments of
the
church of
Rome.

II. Item, that he believed not in the sacraments of the holy and catholic church, as the catholic church of Rome, and all other churches, members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people; nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies of the said church, but hath despised the same.

The sub-
stance of
the sacra-
ment.

III. Item, that he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration: and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed: and that in the said sacrament there is only a memory or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

The pre-
sence in
the sacra-
ment.

IV. Item, that he believeth, and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

The mass
abomina-
ble.

V. Item, that he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England, and other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness; and that Christ did never institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

Confes-
sion to
God.

VI. Item, that he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous: and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

Defence
of mar-
tyrs.

VII. Item, that he believeth that Luther, Wickliff, Dr. Barnes, and all others that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire, or otherwise, for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ in so believing and dying.

VIII. Item, that he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable: for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

IX. That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Riche, sir Henry Tyrrel knight, Anthony Brown esquire, and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess, that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church: because that like as the service of the church, set out in the days of the late king Edward the sixth, was said and alleged to be abominable, heretical, schismatical, and all naught; so he (the said Thomas Wats) then and there said openly before the said commissioners, that all that is now used and done in the church, is abominable, heretical, schismatical, and altogether naught: and that he did also then utter before the said commissioners other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

X. Item, that he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged as a manifest and open heretic; and for the same, by the order of ecclesiastical laws, is to be declared accursed; and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as a heretic.

XI. Item, that he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass; that is to wit, that he had believed and deliberately spoken that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing-cross, who, at the time of his executing, desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with all his enormities; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

XII. Item, that the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude; and that of all and singular the same within Billericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

The Answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid Articles.

To the Ist he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the IId article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution, and the catholic church; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church: and further said, that he doth not believe now, as he had done in times past—for in time past he believed as the church then believed, but now he doth not so believe; for the church of Rome had deceived us—and therefore, he said, he did not believe as the church of Rome believeth, but as Christ hath taught him. And further said, that he was so taught to believe by preaching of one master Alvey, and others whose names he remembered not; which Alvey, he said, did preach the word of God truly and sincerely.

To the IIIId he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's body is in heaven, and nowhere else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the IVth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the Vth, that he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the VIth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins: howbeit he denieth not but it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the VIIth he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the body and blood of Christ were really, and in very deed, in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Queen
Mary's
service
reproved

The
church of
Rome a
syna-
gogue of
Satan.

Wats first
won to
the
gospel
by Alvey.

Mary. the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good christian men.

A. D. To the VIIIth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article ; but 1555. said, that he hath and doth believe, that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds, be works of a lively faith.

To the IXth he confessed, that he did utter and speak, as in this article is contained ; and, further, desireth God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

To the Xth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law : and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

The
bishop of
Rome an
enemy to
Christ.

To the XIth he said, that he believed that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley he said, he did never see nor know him ; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

To the XIIth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true ; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me, Thomas Wats.

THREE OTHER APPEARANCES OF THOMAS WATS IN THE CONSISTORY.

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the same day ; at which hour, being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise : " Wats ! you know what I said unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The time is now come : weigh and consider with yourself, that you are but a man, and albeit that ye will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soul ; but while ye have time, return and confess the truth." Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, " I am weary to live in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in ;" upon which answer the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and further, subscribed the same with his own hand.

The bishop, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning ; where, the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered : " Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law ; but not to the laws of the church, as you call it : and further I do affirm, and will stand to mine answers that I have made."

Wats sub-
mitteth
him to
the law,
etc.

He pri-
vately
appeareth
again be-
fore the
bishop.

Wats's
answer
to the
bishop.

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield willed him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10th day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there, with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But Wats answered him in this sort : " I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church ; and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me." He was hereupon again dismissed for that time until Friday the 17th day of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory ; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former articles ministered unto him, made then such answers as before.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the 18th day of the month of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process: and there the said Wats, being, by the bishop and others, willed to deny his profession, made this final answer: "God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that that I have done; for I will stand to mine answers."

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

The final answer of Wats.

The bishop, perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail, and having no great store of other reasons to persuade with, put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation; which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th day of June, or (as some record) to the 22d of May: at which time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scot's house, keeping then an inn in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Sentence of condemnation against Wats.

Ser Appendix.

Then Wats went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children being there, and said these words in effect: "Wife, and my good children! I must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more; but, as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom, I charge you, see you do obey, and fear him: and beware ye turn not to this abominable papistry, against the which I shall, anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you." All these and such like words spake he unto them, and they unto him; of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

The farewell of Wats to his wife and six children; his martyrdom at Chelmsford, June 10.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my Lord Riche these or the like words: "My lord," saith he, "beware, beware! for you do against your own conscience herein; and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: for you are the cause of this my death."

His words to the lord Riche.

CONCERNING THE CHILDBRED OF QUEEN MARY, AS IT WAS RUMOURED AMONG THE PEOPLE.

Long persuasion had been in England with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was conceived with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians, and others nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary: and commandment was given, that in all churches, supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery; the certificate whereof ye may read before in the letter of the council sent to Bonner, and also the same, moreover, may appear by provision made before in act of parliament for the child.

*And¹ forsomuch as prayer is here mentioned for queen Mary, here

(1) These observations, and the specimens of early psalmody, are reprinted from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, pp. 1139, 1141.—Ed.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

followeth to be seen the Pater-Noster then set forth in English metre, compiled, or rather corrupted, by one W. Forest; which, when thou shalt see, good reader, I refer the matter to thy discretion to judge of these catholics, what men they are, and how contrary to themselves: who find fault with the Pater-Noster sung in metre in our churches, and yet they themselves have done the same before much more worthy of rebuke; who, not only have intermixed their own senses with the words of the Lord, but, also, have so wrasted and depraved the same, that the thing which the Lord hath set forth for public and general petition, they have turned to a private request.

The Pater-Noster to God's Glory, with Prayer to Him for
 Queen Mary.

Our Father which in heaven dost sit, We sanctify thy name; Our prayer we pray thee to admit, Queen Mary save from blame.	Our daily bread give us this day, With all that we do need; Our noble queen Mary we pray, Thou send always good speed.
Thy kingdom be us here among, As in our hearts to reign; Queen Mary prosper thou here long, Her honour none to stain.	And now, O Lord! our sins remit, Which we have thee transgressed; As we do let our neighbour flit Out of our inward breast.
Thy will in earth be done and wrought, Right as it is above.	And let us not be overcome By foul temptation;
Queen Mary both in deed and thought, May thee both dread and love!	Our queen thou grant, of thy wisdom, To honour Thee alone.

But us deliver by thy might
 From every kind of ill;
 Queen Mary keep both day and night,
 And prosper to thy will.

Finis quoth W. F.

Te Deum, lauding God specially, with Prayer therein for our
 Queen Mary.

O God! thy name we magnify In thy sanctuary; For that thou hast, of thy mercy, Sent us our queen Mary.	Thou art Lord God of Sabaoth; Of hosts, that is to say; So passing high thy power goeth, All things must thee obey.
To thee this all our English ground Doth render praise alway; Whom merciful hath ever found, So help us still we pray.	Both heaven and earth are filled full With glory of thy name: Our queen thou shield from all trouble And magnify her fame.
To thee all heavens incessantly, In orders as they be, Proclaim thy glory worthily With all felicity.	The choir of the apostles thine Hath in thy praise delight: [shine, Grant our dear queen here long to And to enjoy her right.
First Cherubyn and Seraphyn, With ardent love entier, ¹ Sing night and day, and doth not lin ² In their fervent manner.	The number, passing laudable, Of prophets all and some Set forth thy praise honourable And sovereign wisdom.
"Holy art thou, Father of might! Holy art thou, O Son! Holy art thou, O heavenly Spirite! Three in one union.	The goodly fellowship so sweet Of martyrs flourishing, Lowly kneeling before thy feet, Thy praise doth always sing.

*See
 Appendix.*

(1) "Entier," (Fr.) complete.—ED.

(2) "Lin," linnan, or ablinnan, (Sax.) to cease or leave off.—ED.

The holy church here militant
 Over the world so round,
 Setth forth thy praise of covenant,
 As thereunto most bound:
 Confessing thee, Father, to be,
 As, truth, thou art no less,
 Of a surmounting majesty,
 Passing for to express.
 Professing with all sanctity
 Thy honourable Son;
 Of thee to be gotten truly
 Ere oughtes were here begun.
 The Holy Ghost as to proceed
 From these high persons twain;
 Who with his grace doth all men feed,
 That meekness doth contain.
 O Trinity in unity!
 Our queen do thou respect;
 Her only guide ever to be
 And in her right protect.
 O Christ! thou art, we verify,
 Of glory, Lord and King,
 And Son of the Father on high,
 With him ever reigning.
 When thou didst please man to restore,
 With thee to reign alway,
 Thou didst not loth, either abhor,
 The virgin's womb that day.
 No more do now withdraw thy grace,
 We humbly thee require;
 Our queen inhabit in like case
 With grace her to inspire. [come,
 The sting of death by thee was over-
 To true believers all
 Thou didst set open thy kingdom,
 The realm celestial.
 Now sittest thou on the right hand
 Of God the Father dear;
 Preserve, O Lord! merry England,
 And make it so to appear.

In thee, O Lord, hath our whole trust
 Been steadfastly groundd;
 Let never us, as thou art just,
 Be clearly confounded.

Thou art believed, certainly,
 To come and be our judge;
 That day, O Lord! show thy mercy,
 And be our chief refuge.
 Therefore we pray with humble mood,
 Thy servants to sustain, [blood,
 Whom thou, with thy most precious
 Redeemed hast from pain.
 Make us to be numbered on high
 In glory with thy saints;
 Which in thy joy doth glorify
 And therein never faints.
 Thy people save and bless also,
 Thy right inheritage:
 Our queen where she doth ride or go,
 Thou keep from all damage.
 And govern them that here be thine:
 Extolling, by thy grace,
 Up to the heaven chrystalline,
 There to behold thy face.
 Here, day by day, as we are bound,
 Thy name we magnify: [crown'd,
 Our queen see thou with honour
 Who loveth thee specially.
 And in the world of worlds to come
 We shall thy praise endure:
 Thither to come grant all and some,
 There ever to endure.
 Vouchsafe this day, from sin and crime,
 To govern us, we pray: [time,
 Our queen grant here to reign long
 And to observe thy way.
 Have mercy, Lord, on us sinners,
 Have mercy on us all:
 Our sins are many and divers
 Remit them great and small.
 Thy mercy, Lord, let on us light,
 As we do trust in thee; [night,
 And save our queen both day and
 In high prosperity.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Finis quoth W. Forest.

Thus much as touching their devout prayer for queen Mary.*

And now, forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared, and in a readiness; suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child; insomuch that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the

Rockers
and
nurses
provided
for queen
Mary's
child.

Processions and
bonfires
in London.

Triumph
at Antwerp.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

mariners thereof rewarded with a hundred pistolets, or Italian crowns, by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary. Such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely, one the parson of St. Anne within Aldersgate, after procession and Te Deum sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

Queen
Mary's
child
would not
come!

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been before half way to London, who said concerning the bonfires made for queen Mary's child, "Here is a joyly triumph; but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage:" as indeed it came to pass; for in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

What be-
came of
queen Ma-
ry's child
no one
can tell.

At this time many talked diversely. Some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; some others affirmed that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched; but what was the truth thereof the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret.

One thing of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed: There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate-street in Horn-alley, not far from the house where this present book was printed, who, before witness made this declaration unto us: that she, being delivered of a man-child upon Whit Sunday in the morning, which was the 11th day of June, anno 1555, there came to her the lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish-street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which if she would, her son (they said) should be well provided for, she should take no care for it; with many fair offers, if she would part with the child (after that, came other women also, of whom, one they said should have been the rocker); but she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.¹

Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I deal not withal, but leave it to the liberty of the readers to believe it they that list: to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

The
young
prince's
cradle.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written, both in Latin and English.

Verses
upon the
cradle.

Quam Mariæ sobolem, Deus optime, summe, dedisti,
Anglis incolumem redde, tuere, rege.

The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might! hast send,
To England's joy, in health preserve,—keep, and defend!

(1) Ex testimonio ejusdæm puerperæ Londinensis.

Carminis Inversio.

* *Quam¹ Mariæ sobolem, Deus optime, summe, negasti,
Hanc ferat auspiciis Elisabetha tuis.**

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbey-lands, which book was called "A Warning for England;" whereof ye shall understand more, God willing, when we come to the Spanish inquisition: so that by the occasion of this book, upon the 13th day of this month came out a certain proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

*See
Appendix.*

A Proclamation set out by the King and Queen, for the restraining of all Books and Writings tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

Whereas by the statute made in the second year of king Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books containing wicked doctrine, and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their fautors and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived,² was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless, in most parts of the realm, the same is neglected, and little regarded: the king and queen our sovereign lord and lady,³ therefore, etc., straitly charge and command: that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this realm, any books, writings, or works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any book or books, writings or works made or set forth, by, or in the name of Martin Luther, or any book or books, writings or works made or set forth, by or in the name of Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pome-rane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardine Ochinus, Erasmus Sarcerius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, otherwise called Friar Barnes, John Bale, otherwise called Friar Bale, Justus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tyndale, Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon, John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called "Hall's Chronicle," or any of them in the Latin tongue, Dutch tongue, English tongue, Italian tongue, or French tongue, or any other like book, paper, writing or work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the catholic faith, and the doctrine of the catholic church.⁴ And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books, written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in

Good
books pro-
hibited.

Hall's
Chro-
nicle.

(1) See Edition 1563, page 1141.—Ed.

(2) Of this act or statute read before.

(3) "Astiterunt reges terræ et principes convenerunt in unum adversus Dominum et Christum ejus." Psalm ii.

(4) What ado is here to keep down Christ in his sepulchre! and yet will he rise in spite of all his enemies.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

English to be used in the churches of this realm in the time of king Edward the Sixth, commonly called "The Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and Ordering of Ministers, otherwise called, The Book set forth by authority of parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments," or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England; but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custodies and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour, or deceit, at the said ordinary's will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

The
power of
this
world set
against
Christ.

And their majesties, by this proclamation, give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly command and will the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works; and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: and that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every of them within their said limits and jurisdictions, finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf.

Given under our signs manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns.

Imprinted by John Cawood, anno 1555.

Articles to be inquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, "A Warning for England."¹

Articles
to be in-
quired
upon.

- I. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books?
- II. Whether they have heard of any of the said books?
- III. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them?
- IV. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea; especially from Zurich, Strasburg, Frankfort, Wezel, Emden, and Duisburg?
- V. Whom they know, or vehemently suspect, to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence?
- VI. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter.

In this proclamation thou hast heard, christian reader! the profound and learned censure of the catholic church of England, what books they mislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which catholic censure of these learned fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth my leisure now serve to write apologies in defence of these authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of balances, wherein to weigh the books on the one side condemned, with the books on the other side allowed, to the end that

(1) This book called, "A Warning for England," look for hereafter, when we come (God willing) to the Spanish inquisition.

we, weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation upon these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books, by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.
The books
of the pro-
testants
to be
weighed
with
books of
the pa-
pists.

PARTS OF THE PRIMER AFTER THE USE OF SALISBURY, CALLED
"OUR LADY'S MATINS," PRINTED IN QUEEN MARY'S TIME.

And first to begin with the Primer in English for children, after the use of Salisbury, imprinted with privilege according to letters-patent of the king and queen's majesties in the reign of queen Mary.¹ Let us repeat and survey some part of the said primer (for to express all, it were too long) beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother most pure of virgins all,
Mother and daughter of the King Celestial,
So comfort us in our desolation,
That by thy prayer and special mediation,
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," etc.

Confer this with the Scriptures,² good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the second lesson.

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest;
That he our prayers accept may in good wise,
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," etc.

In the Third Lesson.

"Thy Son beseech, with humble intercession,
To purge us clean of our transgression;
That so being redeemed we may the place ascend,
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

The Versicle.

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the One me-
devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy me-
diation," etc.

Another Versicle.

"Holy Mother of God, make thy petition,
That we may deserve Christ's promission," etc.

And in the anthem after Benedictus, thus it followeth:—

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make False
means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to merita.
attain the kingdom of heaven."

(1) This Primer set forth in queen Mary's time was printed by J. Wayland.

(2) "The Scriptures;" "There is one God, and one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus." 1 Tim. ii. 5.—Ed.

Mary.

Furthermore in the collect after it followeth :—

A. D.
1555.

" And grant, that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

Wrong
media-
tion.

It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material cross.

Idolatry
to the
material
cross.

" O God, which hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort both our hearts and bodies," etc.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth :—

" O Lord, defend us alway through the continual succours of St. John Baptist." For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," etc.

In which words note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the stolidity of the reason. For whereas their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul :—

" Hear us mercifully; and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting,"² etc.

Of St. Andrew.

" So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," etc.

Of St. Lawrence thus :—

" St. Lawrence the deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the holy cross, he gave sight to the blind," etc.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

Of Thomas Becket Archbishop of Canterbury.

*See
Appendix.*

" By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend, Make us, Christ, to climb, whither Thomas did ascend."³

Of St. Nicholas.

False
merits.

" O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell."

Of Mary Magdalen.

" Grant we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," etc.

Another Prayer of our Lady.

" The dolorous compassion of God's sweet Mother Bring us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," etc.

(1) " Let no man glory in any man; for all things are yours," etc. 1 Cor. iii.

(2) " What is Paul, what is Apollos, but the servants of him on whom you believe?" 1 Cor. iii.

(3) What horrid blasphemy, and derogation to Christ's blood!

Another Prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.

" Establish us in peace and tranquillity,
 And change the name of sinful Eva :
 Loose thy prisoners from captivity,
 Unto the blind give sight again :
 Deliver us from malignity,
 To the end we may some grace attain :
 Show thyself to be a Mother,
 So that he accept our petition.
 Deliver us from bondage of sin."

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.The office
of Christ
given to
our Lady.

Item.

" Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak-spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind," etc.

Another blasphemous Prayer.

" O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore
 On wretches, for whom thou haddest these paines all,
 Seeing thy Son that vine-cluster pressed sore :
 And from the pestilence of death eternal,
 Keep us by voiding the fiend infernal,
 And join us with them which rewarded be
 With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

Blasphemy.

*See
Appendix.*

Another Blasphemy in the said Primer.

" Hail Queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off, therefore, our patroness; cast upon us thy pitiful eyes; and after this our banishment, show to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O Gate of glory! be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sins unclean," etc.

Idolatry.

Item, to our Lady.

" The fruit of thy womb everlasting,
 We may behold through thy deserving," etc.

Item.

" Grant we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers' we may attain to that unspeakable joy, where she, being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called our Lady's Matins: whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our Lady's Psalter, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical; so the same also may see and judge, what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men, what our Lady's Psalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradventure will deny any such book of our Lady's Psalter to be written or approved,² here therefore we will first produce the name of the author, who was Bonaventure,³ a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus the Fourth, Anno 1482,

Like
Primer,
like
Psalter.

(1) If Mary's merits might help us, then Christ died in vain.

(2) It takes its place in the later editions of Bonaventure's works, and is recognised by Wadding in his "Scriptores ordinis Minorum;" Romæ, 1650.—ED.

(3) Bonaventure, who was the compiler of our Lady's Psalter, lived A. D. 1270, and was canonized A. D. 1482. ["Sanctorum catalogo inscriptus a Sixto IV. die 18. Aprilis, 1482, et inter Ecclesiæ doctores a Sixto V. annumeratus an. 1588, 14 Martii." Bellarmin de Scripp. Eccles. edit. Venet. 1728.—ED.]

Mary. for a saint in the calendar, who, in his book thus entitled in Latin,
A.D. "Incipit Psalterium beatæ Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum
1555. Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis," etc. (fol. 84, in the second part of his whole works, which were imprinted at Strasburgh, Anno 1495), to show himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every psalm of David's Psalter (which he peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God), and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example's sake (for, to show all, it were too long), we thought here to exhibit unto the reader in order, as followeth:—

THE TITLE IN ENGLISH, OF THE BOOK CALLED THE LADY'S PSALTER.

*See
Appendix.*

"Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Albano, and cardinal of the holy church of Rome."

*Our
Lady's
beauty.*

1. Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified everywhere, etc.—Glory be to the Father, etc.¹

*Treason
against
Christ's
person
and dig-
nity.*

2. Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, etc.²

*Blas-
phemous
idolatry.*

3. Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me unto the haven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father, etc.³

*False
faith.*

4. When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity, are great towards all them that call upon thy holy name. Blessed be thou, O

(1) Beatus vir, qui intelligit [diligat] nomen tuum, Maria Virgo, gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum uberrimum in eo fructum justitiæ propagabis, etc. Universas enim feminas vincis pulchritudine carnis; superas angelos et archangelos excellentia sanctitatis. Misericordia tua et gratia ubique prædicatur, etc. Gloria Patri. See the book called "Our Lady's Psalter." Bonaventure [Opera: Moguntiae, 1609, vol. vi. p. 478, Psalm i. The words in parentheses denote the variation between the early edition which Foxe cited, and that of a more recent date, with which the editor collated these passages. The reader need hardly be directed to the awful profaneness of this Psalter.—Ed.]

(2) Quare fremuerunt inimici nostri, et adversum nos meditati sunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua, mater Dei, ut acies terribiliter confundens et destruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis et tribulati estis, et dabit refrigerium animabus vestris. Accedite ad eam in tentationibus vestris, et stabiilet vos serenitas vultus ejus. Benedicite illam in toto corde vestro, misericordiâ enim illius plena est terra, etc. Gloria Patri. [Psalm ii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(3) Domina, quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? In tempestate tuâ persequeris et dissipabis eos. Dissolve colligationes impietatis nostræ; tolle fasciculos peccatorum nostrorum. Miserere mei, Domina, et sana infirmitatem meam; tolle dolorem et angustiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, et in die mortis meæ conforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum salutis, et spiritum meum redde factori meo, etc. [Psalm iii. Ibid.—Ed.]

Lady for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her all nations of the earth, etc.¹ Mary.

5. Hear my words, O Lady, etc. Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces.² A. D. 1555.

6. O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure, etc. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us. Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may show forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because neither the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting.³ Derogation of the cross of Christ.

7. O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying for thy name's sake, to show thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me that he destroy me not.⁴ Vain trust. Wrong invocation.

9. I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart,⁵ and will show forth among the nations thy praise and glory, etc. They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart, &c.⁶ Manifest idolatry.

10. In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, etc. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, etc. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits, etc.⁷ Derogation of Christ's passion.

12. Save me, O Mother of love, and fountain of mercy, etc. Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee.⁸

13. How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him, etc. We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired, etc.⁹

16. Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust, etc. Blessed be thy breasts,¹⁰ [from] which, with thy deifying milk, didst [thou] nourish the Saviour, etc.¹¹ Milk-making God.

18. I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies, etc. All ye cloisterers honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion.¹² Idolatry of the cloisterers.

(1) Cum invocarem, exaudisti me, Domina, et è sublimi solio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad escam et de manibus quærentium me liberabit gratia tua: quoniam benigna est misericordia et pietas tua in omnes qui invocant nomen sanctum tuum. Benedicta sis, Domina, in æternum, et majestas tua in seculum. Glorificate eam, omnes gentes, etc. [Psalm iv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(2) Verba mea auribus percipe, Domina, etc. Convertite luctum nostrum in gaudium, et tribulationem nostram in jubilationem. Corruant ante pedes nostros inimici nostri; virtute tuâ eorum capita conterantur, etc. [Psalm v. Ibid. p. 479.—Ed.]

(3) Domina, ne in furore Dei sinas corripi me, neque in irâ ejus judicari, etc. De portâ inferi, et de ventre abyssi, tuis sanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis januæ sempiternæ, ut enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua: quia non mortui, neque qui in inferno sunt, laudabunt te, Domina, sed qui tuâ gratiâ vitam æternam obtinebunt. [Psalm vi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(4) Domina mea, in te speravi, de inimicis meis libera me, Domina. Conclude ora Leonis, et labia persequentium constringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis misericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat super nos, ut servetur conscientia nostra apud altissimum. Si persequitur [persequatur] inimicus animam meam, Domina, adjutorio tuo conforter, ne vibret gladium suum contra me. [Psalm vii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(5) "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart, with all thy strength and power," etc. Deut. vi.

(6) Confitebor tibi, Domina, in toto corde meo, et narrabo in populis laudem et gloriam tuam, etc. Invenient gratiam [peccatores apud Deum] per te inventricem gratiæ et salutis. Respirant ad indulgentiam humiles penitentes; sana contritiones cordis eorum, etc. [Psalm ix. Ibid.—Ed.]

(7) In te, Domina, confido, etc. Exquirite illam à juventute vestrâ, et glorificabit vos, etc. Misericordia illius nostrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, et fecunditatem nobis conferat meritum, etc. [Psalm xi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(8) Salvum me fac, mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clementiæ, etc. Gyrum terræ sola circuis, ut subvenias invocantibus te, etc. [Psalm xii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(9) Usque quo, Domina, oblivisceris me, et non liberas me in die tribulationis? Usque quo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me? Potentiâ virtutis tuæ contempni ipsum, etc. Magnificamus te gratiæ inventricem, per quam sæcula reparantur, etc. [Psalm xiii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(10) "Ye rather blessed be they which hear the word of God, and keep it."

(11) Conserva me, Domina, quoniam speravi in te, etc. Benedicta sunt ubera tua, quibus lacte deifico salvatorem enutristi, etc. [Psalm xvi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(12) Diligam te, Domina cæli et terræ; in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Confitemini illi,

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

20. Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble, etc. Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body. Send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, etc. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God.¹

25. To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul, etc. Let not the snares of death prevail against me, etc. Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me.²

26. Judge thou me, O Lady,³ for I am fallen from mine innocency: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall, etc.⁴

27. O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my light, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind, etc.⁵

28. To thee, O Lady, etc. Have mercy upon me in the day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me, etc.⁶

31. In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust; let me not be confounded for ever: in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, etc. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper.⁷ Into thy hands I commend my spirit, etc.⁸

Horrible
blasphemy
against
the Lord!

34. I will always praise our Lady, etc. In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word increate to take flesh of thee.⁹

O impi-
ous blas-
phemy!

36. The wicked man said, etc. Let him depart from his evil purpose. O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us: compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empery and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth.¹⁰

45. My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady, etc. By thy holiness let my sins be purged;¹¹ by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption, etc.¹²

These
words
stink of
blasphem-
ous
idolatry.

47. Clap your hands, all ye people, etc. For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life; the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady; have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee.¹³

51. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the mother of mercy; and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities.¹⁴

tribulati corde, et roborabit vos contra inimicos vestros, etc. Religiosi omnes, honorate illam, quia ipsa est adiutrix vestra et specialis advocata. Esto refrigerium nostrum, gloriosa mater Christi, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum. [Psalm xviii. Ibid. page 480.—Ed.]

(1) Exaudi [as] nos, Domina, in die tribulationis, etc. Ne projicias nos in tempore mortis nostræ, sed succurre animæ, cum deseruerit corpus suum. Mitte angelum in occursum ejus, per quem ab hostibus defendatur, etc. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, et concede ei locum inter electos Dei. [Psalm xx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(2) Ad te, Domina, levavi animam, etc. Non prævaleant adversum me laquei mortis, etc. Ductrix mea esto ad patriam, et me cœtui angelorum digneris aggregare. [Ps. xxv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(3) All judgment is given to Christ alone, and before him the Virgin also herself shall be judged.

(4) Judica me, Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digressus sum: sed quia speravi [sperabo], in te non infirmabor, etc. [Psalm xxvi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(5) Domina, illuminatio mea sit splendor faciei tuæ, et serenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ, etc. [Psalm xxvii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(6) Ad te, Domina, clamabo, etc. Miserere mei in die angustiarum mearum, et in luce veritatis tuæ libera me. [Psalm xxviii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(7) If our Lady be all in all, then God, belike, sitteth idle in heaven!

(8) In te, Domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum, in gloria [gratiæ] tuâ suscipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea et refugium meum, consolatio mea et protectio mea, etc. Educas me [de] laqueo quem absconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adiutrix mea. In manus tuas, Domina, commendo spiritum meum. [Psalm xxxi. Ibid. p. 481.—Ed.]

(9) Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore, etc. In periculis, in rebus dubiis, invocate eam, et in necessitatibus invenietis auxilium, etc. Sumite exemplum conversationis ejus et æmulemini [amulamini] studia [charitatis et] humilitatis ejus. Quia ergo, Domina, humillima fuisti, Verbum increatum ex te carnem suscipere coegisti. [Psalm xxxiv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(10) Dixit injustus, etc. A malo proposito discedat. Mater Dei, inclina vultum Dei super nos: coge illum peccatoribus misereri, etc. Benedictum sit imperium tuum super cœlos, benedicta sit magnificentia tua super terram. [Psalm xxxvi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(11) If Mary forgive sins, then is our faith in Christ in vain.

(12) Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, Domina, etc. Per tuam sanctitatem peccata mea purgantur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur, etc. [Psalm xlv. Ibid. p. 482.—Ed.]

(13) Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus, etc. Quoniam ipsa est porta vitæ, janua salutis, et vitæ [viæ] nostræ reconciliatrix [reconciliationis]: spes pœnitentium, solamen lugentium, pax beata cordium atque salus. Miserere mei, Domina, miserere mei, quia tu es lux et spes omnium confidentium in te, etc. [Psalm xlvii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(14) Miserere mei, Domina, quæ mater misericordiæ nuncuparis. Et secundum viscera miserationum [misericordiosum] tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis, etc. [Psalm li. Ibid.—Ed.]

54. O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me, etc.¹ Mary.

70. Make haste, O Lady, to help me, etc. Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invocated, etc.² A. D. 1555.

71. In thee, Lady, have I put my trust : let me not be confounded for ever ; in thy mercy deliver me, etc.³ Blind trust.

79. O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits, etc.⁴

89. Thou that rulest Israel, etc. The favour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, etc.⁵ God's honour de-rogated.

91. Whoso dwelleth in the help of the mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, etc. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of paradise shall be open unto him.⁶ False trust.

95. Come let us rejoice to our Lady, etc. Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest, etc.⁷

105. Praise our Lady, and call upon her name, etc. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady, etc.⁸ Abominable blasphemy.

110. The Lord said unto our Lady, Sit here, my mother, on my right hand,⁹ etc.¹⁰

114. In the passing of my soul out of this world, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it, etc. Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God, etc.¹¹

119. The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy justifications, etc. I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications, etc.¹² Blasphemy.

125. They that put their trust in thee, O mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy, etc.¹³ Blasphemy.

127. Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue.¹⁴ Blasphemy.

128. Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will, etc.¹⁵

130. Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady, O Lady hear my voice, etc.¹⁶ Idolatrous invocation.

132. O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, etc.¹⁷

134. Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name.¹⁸ False trust.

(1) Domina, in nomine tuo saluum me fac, et ab injustitiis meis libera me, etc. [Psalm liv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(2) Domina, in adiutorium meum intende, etc. Miserere servorum tuorum, super quos invocatum est nomen tuum, etc. [Psalm lxx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(3) In te, Domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum, in tua misericordia libera me, etc. [Psalm lxxi. Ibid.—Ed.]

(4) Domina, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem Dei, quas tu meritis tuis Christo confæderasti, etc. [Psalm lxxix. Ibid. p. 484.—Ed.]

(5) Qui regis Israel, etc. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur, et omnis salus de corde illius scaturit. [Psalm lxxx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(6) Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei, in protectione ipsius commorabitur, etc. Clamate ad illam in periculis vestris, et flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo vestro. Fructus gratiæ inveniet qui speraverit in illa. Porta paradisi reserabitur ei. [Psalm xci. Ibid. p. 485.—Ed.]

(7) Venite exultemus Dominae nostræ, etc. Suscipe in fine animas nostras, et introduce nos in requiem æternam, etc. [Psalm xcv. Ibid. p. 486.—Ed.]

(8) Confitemini Dominae nostræ, et invocate nomen ejus, etc. Salus sempiterna in manu tuâ, Domina, etc. [Psalm cv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(9) The devil and the pope say so, and not God.

(10) Dixit Dominus Dominae nostræ ; sede, mater mea, à dextris meis, etc. [Psalm cx. Ibid. p. 487.—Ed.]

(11) In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei, Domina, et suscipe eam, etc. Esto illi scala ad regnum cælorum, et iter rectum ad paradysum Dei, etc. [Psalm cxvi. cxviii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(12) Miserationibus tuis plena est terra, ideo viam justificationum tuarum exquisivi, etc. Concupiscam in æternum laudare te, Domina, cum docueris me justificationes tuas, etc. [Psalm cxix. 7. Ibid. p. 488.—Ed.]

(13) Qui confidunt in te, mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici, etc. [Psalm cxxv. Ibid. p. 489.—Ed.]

(14) Nisi Domina ædificaverit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit ædificium ejus. [Psalm cxxvii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(15) Beati omnes qui timent Dominam nostram, et beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem suam, etc. [Psalm cxxviii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(16) De profundis clamavi ad te, Domina ; exaudi vocem meam : fiant aures tuæ intendentes, etc. [Psalm cxxx. Ibid.—Ed.]

(17) Memento, Domina, David, et omnium invocantium nomen tuum, etc. [Psalm cxxxii.—Ed.]

(18) Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam, omnes qui speratis in nomine sancto ejus, etc. [Psalm cxxxiv. Ibid. p. 490.—Ed.]

- Mary.* 136. At the floods of Babylon, etc. There is no propitiation to be found without her, etc.¹
- A. D.* 140. Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy
1555. defend me,² etc.³
- Blasphemy.* 145. Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient, etc. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever.⁴
- Idolatory.* 148. Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion : for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts, etc.⁵

I could recite also other things more of like blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the seraphical doctor aforesaid, as these :⁶

- Horrible blasphemy.* Behold, my Lady, my saviour ; I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, etc. Because thou art my strength, and art become my salvation, etc.⁷
- Blasphemy.* Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a mediatrix, etc.⁸
- The Scripture abused.* I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little ones.⁹
- Cursed blasphemy.* O thou wicked and peevish generation, acknowledge our Lady thy saviour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee ?¹⁰
- O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our salvation, etc.¹¹
- In thy name let every knee bend, in heaven and earth, and in hell.¹²
- Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canst thou have salvation without our Lady.¹³
- Blasphemy.* Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs hold his belief of our Lady : which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and sound, he shall perish, without doubt, for ever.¹⁴

See Appendix.

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intolerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady,¹⁵ compiled by the said St. Bonaventure ; wherein these words are to be read as followeth :

" O mediatrix between God and man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldst conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy," etc.¹⁶

Mary made a commander of Christ.

And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words :

" Therefore, O our empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a

(1) Super flumina Babylonis, etc. Non inveniatur propitiatio sine illâ. [Psalms cxxxvii. Ibid. —Ed.]

(2) God's office is appointed to our Lady.

(3) Eripe me, Domina, ab omni malo, et, ab hoste inferno defende me, etc. [Psalms cxl. Ibid. —Ed.]

(4) Oculi nostri sperant in te, Domina. Mitte nobis cibum et escam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquetur lingua mea, et benedicam te in seculum seculi. [Psalms cxlv. Ibid.—Ed.]

(5) Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominam ; glorifica illam etiam, O Sion. Ipsa enim construit muros tuos, et filios tuos benedicit. Gratia sua te impinguat, pacemque donat terminis tuis. [Psalms cxlvii. Ibid. p. 491.—Ed.]

(6) See from the works of Bonaventure, " Cantica ad Beatam Virginem," p. 491 [marked 479].

(7) Ecce Domina Salvatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, et non timebo, quia fortitudo mea es tu, et facta es mihi in salutem, etc. [Isai. xii.—Ed.]

(8) Exulta [et lauda], totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi mediatricem Dominus Deus tuus. [Ibid. instar Ezekiae.—Ed.]

(9) Confitebor tibi, Domina, quia abscondisti hæc a sapientibus, et revelasti ea parvulis. [Cant. Hab. iii. Ibid. p. 480.—Ed.]

(10) Generatio prava atque perversa, agnosce Dominam nostram Salvatricem tuam. Nunquid ipsa est mater tua quæ possedit te, et in fide generavit te ?

(11) O benedicta, in manibus tuis reposita est nostra salus. [Ibid.—Ed.]

(12) In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, celestium, etc. [Cant. de Dau. iii. Ibid.—Ed.]

(13) Quemadmodum infans sine nutrice non potest vivere ; ita nec siue Domina nostrâ posses habere salutem.

(14) Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat de Maria firmam fidem. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit. [Symbolum instar illius Athanasii. Ibid. p. 491.—Ed.]

(15) The Rosary or Garland of our Lady was called ' Corona beatæ Mariæ Virginis.' [See Bonaventure's works, as above, vol. vi. p. 465.—Ed.]

(16) Ibid. p. 466.—Ed.

mother command, command (I say) thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires," etc.¹

Item, "O the advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee," etc.²

Marg.

A. D.
1555.

To these premises I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book, fol. 100, p. 2, col. 1, which I beseech thee to read and note, "Quæ major bonitas quam quod Christus," etc.: "What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?"

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremy, saying:

"Behold, I am in your hands; do with me as you see good;" etc. "Where note," saith he, "that when any duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjects, he is not let go, before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands, being our prisoner and captive, except he grant unto us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said thus, Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend; he is holden here our captive; wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests," etc.

Christ made a captive and a prisoner in the pope's church.

NOTES: THE CHURCH OF ROME EXAMINED.

Is not here good catholie stuff, christian reader, trow you? Confer, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, who teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than to your own conscience. And now therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceedings of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now may he be fully certified and resolved. For where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Matins and Psalter of our Lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of our Lady (as we call her), to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the queen of heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the mother of God; that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is willed to show herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petitions. Finally, if he be our patron, yet is she our patroness. The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ascribe unto her? or what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, etc. To her we pray, we cry, we creep, we sigh, we groan, we knock and kneel, to her we trust; and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be heretics *ipso facto*.

The church of Rome convicted of manifest idolatry.

Our Lady made equal with God.

The doctrine of the Romish church directly against the first commandment of God. Trust and belief in our Lady.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation, which professeth his name, of whom we are called

(1) See Bonaventure's works, as above, vol. vi. p. 465.—ED.

(2) Ibid.—ED.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

Christians ; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, fraternities, and brotherhoods, which professing her name in like sort, are called our Lady's Brethren, or White Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Our Lady
hath her
church as
well as
Christ.

Ten
"Aves"
to one
"Pater-
noster."

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and compline, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter; her holy-days likewise, yea five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her Ave Marias, yea ten Aves to one Pater-noster; yea, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall see her also to have her Te Deum, her Benedictus, her Magnificat; and also her Quicunque vult."¹

Infidelity,
idolatry.

The
church of
Rome
charged
with infidelity
and idolatry.

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy; then, peradventure, this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now God's word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely, in every point touching salvation, what to believe, and what to do, showing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son wherefore, not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain idolatry. The which two special errors most commonly do follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appear. For whereas the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our salvation nowhere else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the institution of the church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given (wherein standeth infidelity), neither yet will seek the same there where they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury; and by the worthiness of the material cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the catholics to be current, as good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from infidelity and blind idolatry to true christianity, in no wise can be sufferable.² But of this to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our history.

(1) See Bonaventure's works, as above, pp. 480, 481.—Ed.

(2) The church of Rome neither taketh that which God doth give, neither doth seek for that which they would have by lawful means.

The Story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, Thomas Osborne, and others, Martyrs.

Mary.

A. D.
1554.

Mention was made before, in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex, the same time as he went to execution; of which six prisoners, three were sent to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: of whom it followeth next in the story now to entreat. The names of which six were these, Thomas Osmond, fuller; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; Thomas Osborne, fuller; Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; being all of the town of Coggeshall. All which six Coggeshall men, next after the examination of Thomas Haukes, and Thomas Wats, were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford and sir Philip Paris knight, with a letter also with them sent, the copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter sent from the Earl of Oxford to Bonner, Bishop of London.

After our hearty commendations unto your good lordship, this shall be to advertise the same, that the constables of Coggeshall within your diocese, have brought before us this day six persons dwelling in the town of Coggeshall aforesaid, whose names hereafter do follow, videlicet, Nicholas Chamberlain, weaver; John Wallet, fuller; Thomas Brodehill, weaver; Richard Web, weaver; William Bamford, alias Butler, weaver; and Thomas Osborne, fuller; for that they, at the feast of Easter now last, have not obeyed to the order of the holy catholic church in receiving of the sacraments; but obstinately refusing the same, besides the holding of divers other opinions, contrary to the faith of the said church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same persons unto your good lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appertain. Thus we commit your good lordship to the keeping of Almighty God.—From Hedingham the first of May, Anno 1555.

Six prisoners sent by the earl of Oxford to Bonner.

Your lordship's assuredly, Oxford,
Philip Paris.

Thus the said prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the said bishop the 17th of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles ministered and objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same: the copy of which their articles and answers, being all one in form and effect (if the registrar say true), here followeth.

Osmond and his fellows brought before bishop Bonner.

The Copy of the Articles objected against Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, of Coggeshall.

1. First, that thou, Thomas Osmond, fuller, wast and art of the parish of Coggeshall, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in the earth one catholic and universal whole church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, that thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of the damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic and universal church, and to the faith and religion of the same in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the said faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

Pope's church falsely called the universal church.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.Her faith
not to be
believed.

3. Item, that thou hast not believed that the faith and religion, which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said catholic and universal church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all christian people ought to believe, observe, follow and keep; but contrariwise, thou hast believed and dost believe, that that faith and religion, which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any christian person.

4. Item, that albeit it be true, that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ under the forms of bread and wine; and albeit that it be so believed, taught, and preached undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but, contrariwise, thou hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly,¹ that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are by faith to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

5. Item,² that thou hast believed and taught, and hast openly spoke and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread, and to break it and distribute it among the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

The mass
not of
Christ's
institu-
tion.

6. Item, that thou hast likewise believed, thought, and spoken, that the mass, now used in the realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry; and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ; and hath no goodness in it, saving the Gloria in excelsis, the epistle, and gospel; and therefore thou hast not, nor will not come and be present at mass, nor receive the sacrament of the altar, nor any other sacrament of the church, as they are now used in the realm of England, etc.

Against
auricular
confes-
sion and
church
service.

7. Item, that thou hast in times past believed, and yet dost now believe, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made unto the priest, but is a thing superfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God and to none other person. And likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the ceremonies of the church, and the service of the same, and hast said that no service in the church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise, it is unlawful and naught.

8. Item, that thou, being notoriously and openly suspected for a heretic, and a person culpable in the premises, wast of late called and convented before the earl of Oxford, and master Philip Paris, and there wast charged with the said heresies; especially against the sacrament of the altar. And because thou didst maintain and stand to thy said heresies, and wouldst not come to the church and be confessed, and receive the said sacrament as other christian people did, but utterly didst refuse to do the same, thou wast, by the said earl of Oxford, and master Philip Paris, sent up by a constable unto me bishop of London, and wast by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as a heretic and misbelieving person.

9. Item, that thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken, and said, that all and all manner of persons, which do teach, preach, or hold anything concerning the sacraments of the church, or any of the articles of the faith, otherwise than is found already discussed and determined by our mother the holy church; or do call into doubt or question that thing which is already decided or determined by the church; or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any slanderous or blasphemous words concerning the said sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach or keep any sect or kind of heresy against the

(1) Note, how this gear is penned to the worst.

(2) This article is not so put down as they meant it.

wholesome doctrine of the church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obstinately defend the sect or kind of heresy, are, by the canons of the whole and universal catholic church, and also by the ecclesiastical laws of this church of England, by their so doing, accursed with that curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the sacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are (in continuing in this said sect and heresy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the secular power; and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the custom of the same, to be by the said secular power put to death and burnt for this said sect and heresy.

10. Item, that thou by reason of the premises wast and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifest and open, wilful and obstinate heretic, for a wicked and cursed person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said canon laws, usages and customs.

The Answers which the said Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, severally made unto these Articles.

To the first they answered and confessed the same to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in the earth one catholic and whole church, and that the same church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this article.

To the second they answer, and believe the said article not to be true; for they say that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part hereof.

To the third they answer, that the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be used in faith and religion) of the catholic church of Christ, and that the faith and religion used in the said churches are not agreeable with the church of Christ, but are false and erroneous.

The church of Rome not to be believed.

To the fourth they answer and say, that howsoever the said churches of Rome and others of Christendom have and do believe touching the sacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material bread and wine; and that the same material bread and wine be only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

To the fifth article they answer that the true receiving and eating of Christ's body, according to Christ's institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by faith (as they believe) Christ's body and blood; and not otherwise.

The true eating of Christ's body.

To the sixth they answer the same to be true in every part thereof, except that over and besides the Gloria in excelsis, the Epistle and Gospel, which they believe to be good, they believe the Paternoster and Creed, used in the mass, be also good.

To the seventh they answer and confess, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to the priest; nevertheless they think that it is necessary to go to such a priest as is able to give good counsel: and that for counsel only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they answer the same to be vain and unprofitable. No service in the church ought to be said, but only in the English tongue.

Auricular confession not necessary. Ceremonies idle in the church.

To the eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true in every part thereof, except they do not believe that they be heretics, or suspected of heresy.

To the ninth Osmond and Bamford answered, that they referred themselves to the said laws mentioned in that article; but Chamberlain made no answer at all to this article.

To the tenth, the said Osmond and Bamford answered and said, that by reason of their belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or adjudged for wilful and obstinate heretics, nor to be punished there-for, as is declared in that article. The other answered nothing.

Mary.

SCHOLIES UPON THE AFORESAID ARTICLES.

A.D.
1555.

These articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the same answers also thereunto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle handling of these lawyers and registrars, who so deceitfully frame their articles and positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, catholic—as who should say, he that denieth Rome, denieth the holy church of Christ here in earth. Likewise in examining them, and specially the simple sort in the matter of the sacrament, to the material bread in the sacrament they put this word “only” very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrament to be no better than only common bread: when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof.

Crafty
and capti-
ous deal-
ing of the
papists
in pro-
pounding
their
articles.

Again, when the examiners hold but only against the erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examiners in general spake against all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, etc.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such crafty form of words they propound their article, that it might appear to the people, these men do deny any service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are craftily, captiously, and deceitfully in form of words devised by these bishops and their notaries: so the answers again to the same, be no less subtly framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the examiners; which being read unto them, thus without further advice they were constrained, upon a sudden, to subscribe the same with their hands. Whereby, if any word escaped their hand, peradventure not considerably subscribed, there the papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the afternoon dismissed; at what time they did again appear, and there were examined and travailed with by fair and flattering speeches, as well of the bishop as of others his assistants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of their ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday, and the 18th day of May. Then in the forenoon the bishop, using his accustomed manner of proceeding, which he had used before as well with them as with others, did likewise dismiss them; and at last, in the afternoon, condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered to the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed; Chamberlain at Colchester, the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Manningtree, the 15th of June; and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich; the same 15th day in the month of June.

Sentence
against
Osmond,
etc.

Their
martyr-
dom.

The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God, Master
John Bradford,

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

WITH HIS LIFE, ACTS, AND SUNDRY CONFLICTS WITH HIS AD-
VERSARIES, AND MARTYRDOM AT LENGTH MOST CON-
STANTLY SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF
CHRIST AND HIS TRUTH.

*See
Appendix.*

As touching the first country and education of John Bradford, he was born at Manchester in Lancashire. His parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy, until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, and skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to

Sir John Harrington.
The trusty service of Bradford under him.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course of this world, like to come forward (as they say), if his mind could have so liked, or had been given to the world as many other be. But the Lord, who had elected him unto a better function, and pre-ordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace which, in his secret counsel he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding and partaking of the same gospel of life: in which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith this effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and, after the just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him; and with marvellous favour to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the holy Scriptures. The which his purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the university of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the university did give him the degree of a master of arts.

Bradford called to the gospel.

Giveth himself to the study of Scripture.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall did give him a fellowship in their college with them: yea that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To the which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, "If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee." And while Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ, according to the order that then was in the church of England, called him to take the

Fellow of Pembroke Hall.

Bucer's saying.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Bradford
made dea-
con by
Ridley,
and pre-
bendary
in Paul's,
with li-
cense to
preach.Unjustly
deprived
of his liv-
ing and
preach-
ing.Bourn's
sermon at
Paul's
Cross.*See
Appendix.*Bradford
appeaseth
the rage
of the
people,
and
guardeth
the papis-
tical
preacher.Regard of
the peo-
ple for
Bradford.Bradford
procureth
Bourn's
safety.

degree of a deacon, which order, because it was not without some such abuse, as to the which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet, perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a license to preach, and did give him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul's.

In this preaching office by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reprov'd sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young king Edward the Sixth, when queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued Bradford diligent in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof (because they had no just cause) they took occasion to do this injury, for such an act as among Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted, as indeed it did no less deserve. The fact was this: the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, master Bourn, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's Cross in London, as partly is declared before, to set popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length Bourn, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a drawn dagger at him, as he stood in the pulpit), and that he was put from ending his sermon, fearing lest (against his will) he should there end his wretched life, desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place and speak to the people. Good Bradford, at his request, was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience: whom as soon as the people saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, that they cried with a great shout,—“Bradford, Bradford; God save thy life, Bradford!”—well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, eftsoons all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season (for it was a long time before that so great a multitude could all depart) Bourn thought (and truly) himself not yet full sure of his life till he were safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were there at hand to help them. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he were in safety: which Bradford, according to his promise, performed. For while the mayor and sheriffs did lead Bourn to the schoolmaster's house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Bourn, the charity of

Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain, which yet still there remained behind; grieved not a little in their minds, to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly railing against king Edward; among whom one gentleman said these words: "Ah Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that will help to burn thee. I give thee his life. If it were not for thee, I would (I assure thee) run him through with my sword." Thus Bourne for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be showed in the time appointed.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

The same Sunday in the afternoon, Bradford preached at the Bow church in Cheapside, and reprov'd the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. After this he did abide still in London, with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his just doing. Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear there before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving of Bourne, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching, and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him.

Rebuketh
the people for the
tumult.Charged
with se-
dition for
saving the
preacher.
Commit-
ted to the
Tower.
See
Appendix.

From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark: and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry in London: in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him: where also the sacrament was often ministered, and through his means (the keepers so well did bear with him) such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day; which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark), he had license upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour, than breaking his fidelity: so constant was he in word and in deed.

Bradford
in the
King's
Bench
and
Compter.Preach-
eth, and
mini-
stereth
the sacra-
ment, in
prison.Bradford
comes
into Lon-
don with-
out his
keeper,
and re-
turneth
that night
to pri-
son.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in his bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in no gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company, and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board; and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well

The holy
life of
Bradford.

*Mary.**A. D.*
*1555.*Bradford
visiteth
the
thieves,
pick-
purses,
etc.Meeting
and con-
ference
between
Saunders
and
Bradford.
Bradford
refuseth
to escape
out of
prison.Would
not fly
out of
England.Brad-
ford's
tears.Ferrar
confirmed
in the
truth by
him.
See
*Appendix.*Bradford
dreameth
of his
burning.

spent, wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, etc. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate that he had, to his fellow-prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side, unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles; and, after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

By the way, this I thought not to conceal. While he was in the King's Bench, and master Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the backside of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would: so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles: and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty in the backside, that there was no day, but that he might have easily escaped away, if he would; but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer-time, while he was in the said King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him: but God prevented him by sickness that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him while he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he said he would marry, and abide still in England secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way. He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death: yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited; as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented; as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this:

Bishop Ferrar, being in the King's Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was travailed withal of the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind, who, after much persuading yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter-even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King's Bench, prisoner; where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only was the mean that the said bishop Ferrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel and God's true messenger.

The night before Bradford was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was sore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams, how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter-gate, and

how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield; as indeed it came to pass accordingly, which hereafter shall be showed. Now he, being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, master Bradford rose out of the bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning to night, but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times on that day communication of death, of the kingdom of heaven, and of the ripeness of sin in that time.

In the afternoon they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed, and seeming much troubled, being almost windless, said, "O master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news." "What is that?" said he. "Marry," quoth she, "to-morrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a buying, and soon you must go to Newgate." With that master Bradford put off his cap, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, "I thank God for it; I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof!" And so, thanking her for her gentleness, he departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him, who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed: which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and showed him his mind in those things what he would have done, and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he spent the time in prayer, and other good exercise, so wonderfully, that it was marvellous to hear and see his doings.

A little before he went out of the Compter, he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with such plenty of tears, and abundant spirit of prayer, that it ravished the minds of the hearers. Also when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning (by one master Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend), he made such a prayer of the wedding-garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to fear and serve God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall and prayed vehemently, that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before, with weeping tears.

The time they carried him to Newgate, was about eleven or twelve o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Bradford
hath word
of his
burning.

He
maketh
his
prayer;
taking his
farewell
of the
Compter.

Goes from
thence.
The pri-
soners
take their
leave of
him with
tears.

Mary. abroad : and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places (between the Compter and Newgate), a great multitude of people that came to see him, which most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with most lamentable and pitiful tears ; and he again as gently bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare. Now, whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were merely devised of the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs of London, or no, I cannot tell ; but a great noise there was overnight about the city by divers, that Bradford should be burnt the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be greatly known to any. In which rumour, many heads had divers minds ; some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof : others thought nay, that it was rather because the papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom. So some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known that ever I heard yet. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected ; for the next day, at the said hour of four a clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great a number in so short a time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

A noise of Bradford's early burning.

A multitude in Smithfield.

Bradford going thither.

Bradford giveth his night-cap away.

Woodrofe breaketh the head of Bradford's brother-in-law.

Bradford two years, lacking a month and a half in prison.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought ; for that morning it was nine a clock of the day, before master Bradford was brought into Smithfield ; who, in going through Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side of the way to the keeper's housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, who, as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London, called Woodrofe, came with his staff, and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders ; which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon betimes : so they, departing, had little or no talk at all together. Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of weaponed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning : for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake. Bradford then, being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was John Leaf : touching the order and manner of whose burning, more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. In the mean time we will now show forth the sundry examinations, conflicts, and conferences between him and other his adversaries, during the time of his imprisonment, which was in all two years

lacking one month and a half; which examinations here follow to be declared. *Mary.*

It was before a little above declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the sermon of master Bourn, was by the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, A.D. 1553, to the 22d day of January, A.D. 1555; upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen Winchester and other of the commissioners. The effect of which examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded in manner as followeth. A.D.
1555.
*See
Appendix.*

THE EFFECT OF THE COMMUNICATION BETWEEN JOHN BRADFORD
AND THE LORD CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS IN COMMISSION WITH
HIM, THE 22D DAY OF JANUARY, ANNO 1555.

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with master Ferrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who, being come into the presence of the council sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee; but immediately, by the lord chancellor, was bidden to stand up: and so he did.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him, to have, belike, over-faced him: but he gave no place; that is, he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, sighed for God's grace, and so over-faced him. Winches-
ter over-
faced.

Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed, and something troubled, spake thus to him in effect: that of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's Cross, the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. "But now," quoth he, "the time of mercy is come: and therefore the queen's highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be you will with us return: and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you." This was the sum of his words, and in manner the same words which he spake. To these words John Bradford spake (after reverent obeisance made) in this manner:— His
words to
Bradford.

"My lord and lords all; I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise, but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject both in going about to save the now bishop of Bath, then master Bourn, the preacher at the Cross, and in preaching for quietness accordingly." Brad-
ford's an-
swer.

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the said lord chancellor something snuffed, and speaking with an admiration, said:—

L. Chan.:—"There was a loud lie: for," quoth he, "the fact was seditious; as you my lord of London can bear witness."

Bonner:—"You say true, my lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly; thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition."

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Bradford :—" My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him. In the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me."

L. Chan. :—" I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shows thou makest: but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgotten how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower,¹ whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion: I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where-through worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of."

Brad. :—" My lord, as I said I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God; and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say, that my lord of Bath, master Bourne, will witness with me,² that I sought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life; I thank God there-for."

Bonner :—" That is not true: for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much."

Brad. :—" No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of master Bourne himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or said any thing that did not besem me, if your lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer."

L. Chan. :—" Well, to leave this matter: how sayest thou now? Wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon."

Man's
mercy
with
God's
wrath re-
fused.

Brad. :—" My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy; but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from! although (I thank God there-for) my conscience doth not accuse me, that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much to quietness."

L. Chan. :—" Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art."³

The
Lord's
mercy is
better
than life
to Brad-
ford.

Brad. :—" The Lord, before whom I stand as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord's mercy is better to me than life. And I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon: therefore his good will be done. Life, in his displeasure, is worse than death; and death, with his true favour, is true life."

L. Chan. :—" I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee: be sure therefore that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive."

Bradford
ready to
confirm
his doc-
trine with
his life.

Brad. :—" I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than, by God's grace, I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it."

Durham :—" Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?"

Asketh a
question
before he
answer-
eth.

Brad. :—" My lord, here I must desire of your lordship and of all your honours a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question, wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority on the bishop of Rome's behalf within this realm of England. Now, before God, I

(1) This talk of Bradford first in the Tower, came not to our hands.

(2) "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." Commandment the IXth. Thus Bradford was desired of master Bourne to help him, and yet is now shent for his labour.

(3) That is the worst you and your pope can do, and the best argument you have.

humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn, which God forbid."

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Sec. Bourne :—"Hast thou been sworn six times? What office hast thou borne?"

Brad. :—"Forsooth I was thrice sworn in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts; when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke hall; and when I was there, the visitors came thither, and sware the university. Again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry; when I had a prebend given me; and when I was sworn to serve the king, a little before his death."

Bradford
six times
sworn
against
the pope.

L. Chan. :—"Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at."

Herod's
oaths.

Brad. :—"But my lord, these were no Herod's oaths, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, 'De vera obedientia.'"

"My lords," quoth another of the council that stood by the table (master Rochester, I ween), "I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad. What the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know that not without a cause he was, and is to be, kept in prison."

Roches-
ter speak-
eth.

Bourne :—"Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion,¹ than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he curseth all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught), and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is." All which words divers of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said master Bourne added, saying, "How say you, sir? have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?"

The earl
of Derby's
complaint
against
Bradford.

Brad. :—"I have not written, nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither (I thank God there-for) have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall do."

Bradford
falsely
charged
with sedi-
tion.

Bourne :—"Yea, but thou hast written letters."

L. Chan. :—"Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?"

Brad. :—"That I have written, I have written."

Southwell :—"Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly behaveth himself before the queen's council!"—Whereat one looked upon another with disdainful countenances.

Southwell
speaketh.

Brad. :—"My lords and masters, the Lord God which is, and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so, with reverence in his sight, I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it. In the mean season I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope."

L. Chan. :—"These be gay glorious words of reverence; but, as in all other things, so herein also, thou doest nothing but lie."²

Brad. :—"Well, I would God, the author of truth, and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and show a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me."

L. Chan. :—"Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here we objected against thee?"

Winches-
ter at bay.

Brad. :—"As I said, my lord, that I have written, I have written. I stand now before you, who either can lay my letters to my charge or no: if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar."

L. Chan. :—"We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?"

Brad. :—"I pray God give me his mercy; and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it: but, otherwise, I will none."

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of

(1) This letter was written to his mother, brethren, and sisters, and followeth hercafter.

(2) All are lies that please not Winchester.

Mary. •his arrogancy, in refusing the queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him : whereto Bradford answered thus :

A. D.
1555.

Brad. :—" My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon ; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law. In the mean season I ask no more but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done."

King Ed-
ward's
time.

Upon these words my lord chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of king Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying :
" How sayest thou ?"

Bradford
standeth
in de-
fence, etc.

Brad. :—" My lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion : the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed, and ready to declare it by God's grace even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison."

Durham. :—" What religion mean you in king Edward's days ? What year of his reign ?"

Brad. :—" Forsooth even the same year, my lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher." Here wrote secretary Bourne I wot not what.

The rea-
son of
Winches-
ter to dis-
prove that
doctrine.

Now after a little pausing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was heresy ; using for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor reason, but this : that it ended with treason and rebellion, " so that," quoth he, " the very end were enough to improve that doctrine to be naught."

Brad. :—" Ah, my lord ! that you could enter in God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify."

L. Chan. :—" What meanest thou by that ? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now."

Brad. :—" My lord, I mean no such end as you would gather : I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself."

The
queen's
mercy
again of-
fered to
Bradford.
*See
Appendix.*

Here now did my lord chancellor offer again mercy ; and Bradford answered, as before : mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the lord chancellor did ring a little bell, belike to call in some body : for there were present none in manner, but only those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in ; " it is best," quoth master secretary Bourne, " that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow." So was the under-marshal called in.

Bradford
returned
again into
prison.

L. Chan. :—" Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge ; and suffer him not to write any letters," etc., " for he is of another manner of charge unto you now, than he was before."

And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

THE EFFECT OF THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF JOHN BRADFORD
IN ST. MARY OVERY'S CHURCH, BEFORE THE LORD CHANCEL-
LOR, AND DIVERS OTHER BISHOPS, THE 29TH OF JANUARY,
ANNO 1555.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

After the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the lord chancellor and other bishops set with him, the said lord chancellor spake thus in effect :

Whereas before, the 22d of January, the said Bradford was called before them (the said lord chancellor, etc.) and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said, that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of king Edward the Sixth, yet, in consideration that the queen's highness was wonderfully merciful, they thought good eftsoons to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late : "therefore advise you well," said he, "there is yet space and grace before we so proceed that you be committed to the secular power, as we must do and will do, if you will not follow the example of master Barlow, and master Cardmaker;" whom he there commended, adding oratoriously amplifications to move the said Bradford to yield to the religion presently set forth.

Example
of Barlow
and Card-
maker
laid
against
Bradford.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak :

Brad. :—"My lord, and my lords all! as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging; and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting; that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt by questions to bring into the snare, them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless; if guilty, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have."

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence, "Deus stetit in synagoga," etc. "But," quoth he, "this and all thy gesture declare but hypocrisy and vain-glory." And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process how that Bradford's fact at Paul's Cross, was presumptuous,¹ arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, "in that thou," speaking to Bradford, "wast so prefract and stout in religion at that present. For the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt to the queen's people, as by report of the earl of Derby in the parliament house was credibly declared." And to this he added, "that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them: and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee," quoth he, "but of and for thy doctrine and religion."

The wit-
ness of
the earl of
Derby
laid
against
Bradford.

Brad. :—"My lord, whereas you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth and hearty meanings; in the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also; and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul's Cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I

Bradford
defendeth
his fact at
Paul's
Cross.

(1) "Si illum objurges, vitæ qui auxilium tulit; quid facies illi qui dederit damnum aut malum?"

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.His words
misre-
ported.Bradford
more con-
firmed in
his doc-
trine after
his im-
prison-
ment
than be-
fore.Win-
chester
maketh
but small
matter of
an oath.

doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort. For if ever I did thing, which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one; and yet, for it, I have been and am kept of long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer, as I did the last time I was before you."

L. Chan. :—"There didst thou say stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldest manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days."

Brad. :—"My lord, I said the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of king Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison: and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be found more ready to give my life as God will, for the confirmation of the same."

L. Chan. :—"I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy."

Brad. :—"My conscience is known to the Lord: and whether I deal herein hypocritically or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my lord, so I say again now, that for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should consent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England."

L. Chan. :—"Why didst thou begin to tell that we are 'Dii,' and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?"

Bradford
standeth
still to his
oath.

Brad. :—"My lord, I said, you would have your place taken of us now as God's place; and therefore I brought forth that piece of Scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath or no."

L. Chan. :—"No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men well perceive, that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou darest not answer, and so wouldest escape; blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do."

Brad. :—"That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me: and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak, than you did: but, when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience' sake, answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me anything whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked for nothing else at your hands of long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do."

Why he
answer-
eth not to
Win-
chester.
Popish
interro-
gatories.

L. Chan. :—"These be gay glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?"

Bradford
ready to
answer
under
protesta-
tion.

Brad. :—"My lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here "coram Deo," before God, all this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practice of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and your honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did."

Here the lord chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the bishop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answering, nor of any such as he was; and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty covetous merchants, who because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them. "Even so thou," quoth he to Bradford, "dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with a heresy (which is greater, and more hurtful to the commonwealth than the other is), pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience where they should not. Why speakest thou not?"

Brad. :—"My lord, as I said, I say again: I dare not answer you for fear of perjury, from which God defend me; or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome: some be against faith and charity; as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need."

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity. But Bradford answered, that howsoever his honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer.

"For, as for death, my lord," quoth Bradford, "as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed. And when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence: but in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do—his good will be done! And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity."

L. Chan. :—"How prove you that?"

Brad. :—"Forsooth I prove it thus:

*Argument.*¹

Fe- Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it.
sti- The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England is with God's word, and is not against it.

no. Ergo, The oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity."

L. Chan. :—"Is it not against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in his realm?"

Brad. :—"No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken: that is, attributing to the king's power, the sovereignty in all his dominion."

L. Chan. :—"I pray you where find you that?"

Brad. :—"I find it in many places, but specially in Romans xiii., where St. Bishops, Paul writeth, 'Every soul to be subject to the superior power:' but what prophets, and apostles, sub- power? 'Quæ gladium gestat,' 'The power verily which beareth the sword;' which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power: as Chrysostome full well ject to noteth upon the same place, which your honour knoweth better than I. He temporal magi- (Chrysostome I mean) there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apo- strates. stles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates."

Here yet more the lord chancellor was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen for his oath: "and so," quoth he, "this man would make God's word a warrant of

(1) See Appendix.—Ed.

Mary. disobedience: for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she saith, 'Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority,'
A. D. 'No,' will he say, 'for I should be forsworn;' and so he makes the
1555. queen no queen."¹

Refusing
of the
popes
obedi-
ence, etc.,
is no deny-
ing of
obedience
to the
queen.

Brad. :—"No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to king Edward, not simply (that is, not only concerning his own person), but also concerning his successors, and therefore in denying to do the queen's request herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient."

L. Chan. :—"Yes, that thou doest;" and so he began to tell a long tale, how, if a man should make an oath to pay to me a hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, "No, you cannot do it: for I am forsworn then."

Here Bradford desired my lord chancellor not to trifle it, saying, that he wondered his honour would make solemn oaths made to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests. At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said, he did not trifle: "but," quoth he, "thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, who now requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome."

Argu-
ment.
A specie
ad genus
negative
non valet.
See
Appendix.

Brad. :—"No, my lord; I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between genus and species. Because I may not obey in this, ergo, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. As if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet, this notwithstanding, all his inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch."

L. Chan. :—"I will none of these similitudes."

Brad. :—"I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people, that I mean that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God."

L. Chan. :—"No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king and to the emperor."

Brad. :—"It is true, my lord, but the cases be not like. For here is an exception: 'Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time.' If, in like manner, we were sworn; 'Thou shalt not serve the emperor,' etc. you see there were some alteration and more doubt. But I beseech your honour remember what you yourself have written, answering the objections here against in your book, *De vera Obedientia*: 'Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.'"²

Winches-
ter pre-
tendeth
as though
Bradford,
for fear,
durst not
answer.

Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand, as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, against all men; "and now," quoth he, "he saith he dare not answer"

Bradford
ready to
tender a
reason of
his faith.

Brad. :—"I have written no seditious letters; I have not perverted the people: but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And whereas your lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord! into thy hands I commit it, come what come will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace: Amen.

(1) See the preposterous judgment of Winchester, to care so little for an oath to God, and so much for his vow to the pope.

(2) "Vincat modo divini verbi veritas."

Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer." *Mary.*

L. Chan. :—"Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?" A. D. 1555.

Brad. :—"My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word 'corporally' I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith." Christ present corporally in the sacrament to faith.

L. Chan. :—"Unto faith? we must have many more words to make it plain."

Brad. :—"You shall so: but first give me leave to speak two words."

L. Chan. :—"Speak on."

Brad. :—"I have been now a year and almost three quarters in prison, and in all this time you never questioned me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now have you a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite: and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my lord! Christ used not this way to bring men to faith: no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugene the pope: 'I read that the apostles stood to be judged; but I read not, that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was,' etc." Note well the pope's way to bring men to faith.

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and spake most gently that he used not this means. "It was not my doing," quoth he, "although some there be that think this to be the best way: for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes." Which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle. At which words Bradford spake thus:— *See Appendix.*
Winchester blamed without a cause, as he saith.

Brad. :—"My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it; for hitherto I never felt it."

As soon as ever he had spoken thus, the lord chancellor (belike thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon) said, that with all his heart, not only he, but the queen's highness, would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

Brad. :—"Return, my lord! God save me from that going back: I mean it not so: but I mean, that whiles I was three quarters of a year in the Tower, you forbade me paper, pen, and ink; and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And, I thank God, that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have; God's good will be done." Bradford three quarters of a year kept from pen and ink.

Here was now divers telling my lord it was dinner-time. And so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so was he had into the vestry, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison. Kept in the vestry till night.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a gentleman called master Thomas Hussey of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, did come into the Revestry to inquire for one Stoning: and when it was answered him by the under-marshal's officers of the king's bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning, for old acquaintance. Hussey cometh to him.

The next morning, about seven of the clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and, being with The counsel of Hussey.

(1) "Apostolos lego stetisse judicandos, sedisse judicantes non lego. Hoc erit, illud fuit," etc. [Lib. I. cap. 6.—ED.]

Mary. him, he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him, to speak that which he would further utter.

A. D.
1555.

"You did," said the gentleman, "so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor, and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have, did see that they have no matter against you: and therefore I advise you [speaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procuring him, as he said] this day—for anon you shall be called before them again—to desire a time, and men to confer withal: so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness in you: and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of.

To this John Bradford answered:

Bradford
refuseth
to require
respite.

Brad.—"I neither can nor will make any such request: for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess; the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence."

Seton
cometh
to him.

As they were thus talking, the chamber-door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, who, when he saw master Hussey, "What, sir," quoth he, "are you come before me?" "O Lord!" said Bradford in his heart to God, "goeth the matter thus? This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord! give me grace to remember thy lesson, 'Cavete ab hominibus illis,' 'Beware of those men,' etc. 'Cast not your pearls before dogs:' for I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other."

Hussey
taken
with a lie.

Counsel
of Seton.

Dr. Seton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long sermon of my lord of Canterbury, master Latimer, and master Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others: all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my lord of Canterbury. To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to master Hussey. With this answer neither the doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, master doctor said thus:

Flat-
tering com-
menda-
tion of
Seton.

Dr. Seton.—"I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I (though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday) yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor hath a fantasy towards you: wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite and some learned man to confer withal," etc.

Bradford
refuseth
to ask
respite to
confer
upon his
doctrine.

But John Bradford kept still one answer: "I cannot, nor I will not so offend the people. I doubt not, but I am most certain of the doctrine I have taught."

Here master doctor Seton waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and "spake like a prelate."

But Bradford answered, "Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself." But still master doctor Seton urged him, showing him how merciful my lord chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

"I never saw any justice, much less love; I speak for my part," quoth Bradford, "in my lord chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably: and now my lord hath no just matter against me."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not; for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a show that my lord chancellor had justly kept him in prison.

Little justice, less love, appeared in the bishop of Winchester.

When all their talk took no such effect as they would or looked for, master Hussey asked Bradford:

Hussey:—"Will ye not admit conference, if my lord chancellor should offer it publicly?"

Brad.:—"Conference! if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomsoever he shall appoint."

Bradford refuseth to admit conference but upon conditions.

Master doctor, hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever pleased him. Then Bradford, perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him; "for," quoth he, "otherwise I am helpless:" and so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need; praised therefore be his holy name! Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried, uncalled for, till a xi of the clock, that is, till master Saunders was excommunicated.

Seton railleth against him.

THE EFFECT AND SUM OF THE LAST EXAMINATION OF JOHN BRADFORD, IN THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY OVERY'S.

After the excommunication of Lawrence Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and, being brought in before the lord chancellor and other the bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus in effect: that if Bradford, being now eftsoons come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the catholic church with them; he yet might find mercy, because they would be loth to use extremity.—Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

Winchester's talk with Bradford.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Bradford began to speak thus:

"As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God to follow him, which seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions: so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day; for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein; but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do.—For our nature is so much corrupt, that we are very oblivious and forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And, last of all, as yesterday

Bradford's answer.

Mary. the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oath, so I would your honours should know that mine answers shall be this day: and this I do, that
A. D. when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled
1555. with the guiltiness of perjury."

Winches-
ter re-
plieth
again
with a lie.

At these words the lord chancellor was wroth, and said, that they had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, "which yesterday," quoth he, "before us you uttered."

Brad. :—"My lord, you gave me no time of any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament, which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself, that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner."

The oath
against
the bishop
of Rome.

L. Chan. :—"What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?"

Brad. :—"No indeed, my lord: you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor ever can do."

Winches-
ter's si-
militude
in no
point
like.

His simi-
litude re-
futed.

See
Appendix.

L. Chan. :—"O Lord God! what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads, that we—all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm—be perjured. O what a heresy is this! Here good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need; were this a good answer, to tell my neighbour desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary, that I could not do it?"

Brad. :—"O my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome."

Here the lord chancellor made much ado, and a long time was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil; he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths: which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction; whereat the chancellor was much offended. But Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome, was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, "*De vera Obedientia*," for confirmation.

God's
word
judges
only of
oaths,
whether
they be
made
lawfully
against
the su-
premac-
y of the
pope or
no.

Winches-
ter leav-
eth his
bold.

At the length they came to this issue, Who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? and Bradford said the word of God, according to Christ's word, John xii., "My word shall judge;" and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, that God's word, coming out of Jerusalem, shall give sentence among the Gentiles. "By this word," quoth Bradford, "my lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority, to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath."

So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and, as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her highness, so did he now. But Bradford, as the day before, proved, that obedience in this point to the queen's highness, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; "no more," quoth he, "than the sale, gift, or lease of a *piece* of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the *whole* inheritance."

And thus much ado was made about this matter: the lord chancellor talking much, and using many examples of debt, of going out of town to-morrow by oath, and yet tarrying till Friday, and such

like; which trifling talk Bradford did touch, saying, that it was a wonder his honour weighed conscience no more in this, and would be so earnest in vows of priests' marriages made to bishops, and be careless for solemn oaths made to God and to princes. Summa, this was the end. The lord chancellor said, the queen might dispense with it, and did so to all the whole realm. But Bradford said, that the queen's highness could do no more but remit her right: as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God. At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm of perjury; "and therefore," quoth he to the people, "you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England; and yet he hath no conscience at all."

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Winchester stumbling at vows made to man, and leaping over solemn oaths made to God. Winchester in a pelting chafe.

Brad. :—"Well, my lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience. I have been a year and a half in prison: now, before all this people, declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you, I mean my lord of Bath, which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people: upon whose words I, coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger (which was hurled at him, I think), for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him; and I promised him, as long as I lived, I would take hurt before him that day; and so went out of the pulpit and entreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into a house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bowchurch, and there, going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompense, prison for a year and a half and more, and death now, which you go about. Let all men be judge where conscience is."

Bradford imprisoned without a cause.

Bradford near slain in the pulpit, with a dagger, thrown against Bourne. Bradford jeopardied his life for Bourne.

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it: but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the Cross was naught.

Brad. :—"No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good; 'but,' quoth you, 'thy mind was evil.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then my lord, in that you allow the fact and condemn the mind, forasmuch as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing. God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and what yours is.'"

Winchester proved double in his own words.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said, that he never said so. "I," quoth he, "had not so little wit I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing:" and so brought forth, little to the purpose, many examples to prove that men construe things by the meaning of men, and not by their doings. But when this would not serve, then cometh he to another matter, and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

Winchester driven to eat his own words.

Brad. :—"Why, my lord? your honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion; but said, a time should afterwards be found out, when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion, in that my religion was then authorised by public laws of

Mary. the realm, could conscience punish me, or cast me in prison there-for? Wherefore let all men be judges, in whom conscience wanteth."

A. D.
1555.

Chamberlain
against
Bradford.

Here came forth master Chamberlain of Woodstock, and spake to my lord chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving man, and was with master Harrington.

L. Chan. :—" True, and did deceive his master of seven-score pounds : and because of this, he went to be a gospeller and a preacher, good people ; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience."

See
Appendix.

Brad. :—" My lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I deceived my master. And as you are chief justicer by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it."

Winches-
ter again
driven
from his
hold.
Bonner
with an-
other un-
truth.

Here my lord chancellor and master Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. " But," quoth my lord chancellor, " we have another manner of matter than this against you : for you are a heretic." " Yea," quoth the bishop of London, " he did write letters to master Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well his own : your honours did see the letters."

Brad. :—" That is not true ; I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of."

Bonner. :—" Yea, but you indited it."

Brad. :—" I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove."

A clerk ;
thought
to be
Allen.

Here came in another, I trow they call him master Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

L. Chan. :—" You say true : for we have his hand to show."

Brad. :—" I deny that you have my hand to show of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful."

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter.

L. Chan. :—" Sir," quoth he, " in my house the other day, you did most contemptuously condemn the queen's mercy ; and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days against all men ; and this you did most stoutly."

Winches-
ter
brought
to a plain
foil.

His cap-
tious
quarrel
answered.

Brad. :—" Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me afore that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously condemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it (though if justice might take place, I need it not), so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in king Edward's days, than ever I was : and if God so would, I trusted I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and testification thereof. So I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaineth to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not."

Another
untruth
in him.

L. Chan. :—" Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament ; and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate."

Brad. :—" My lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament, but that which you allowed ; and therefore you reproved it not, nor gave me any time to deliberate."

L. Chan. :—"Why! didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?"

Brad. :—"No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith, whole Christ, body and blood, was as present as bread and wine to the due receiver."

L. Chan. :—"Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?"

Brad. :—"My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not."

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Here was Bradford called diabolus, a slanderer:¹ "for we ask no question," quoth my lord chancellor, "of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence."

Brad. :—"I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver; but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread is transubstantiated."

Worcester. :—"If he be not included, how is he then present?"

Brad. :—"Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it; nor you, otherwise than by faith, hear it, or understand it."

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor, talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, Œcolampadius: but still Bradford kept him at this point, that Christ is present to faith; and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread: but all this would not serve them. Therefore another bishop asked this question: whether the wicked man received Christ's very body or no? And Bradford answered plainly, "No." Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that present offered to his lordship, although he received it not: "So that," quoth he, "the receiving maketh not the presence, as your lordship would infer: but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive." And here Bradford prayed my lord, not to divorce that which God had coupled together. "He hath coupled all these together: 'Take, eat, this is my body.' He saith not, 'See, peep, this is my body;' but, 'Take, eat.' So that it appeareth this is a promise depending upon condition, if we take and eat."

Christ's body present to faith. Transubstantiation denied.

The wicked receive not. Receiving maketh not the presence of the body, but grace.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition; and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout. But Bradford said thus, "My lord, are not these words, 'Take, eat,' a commandment? And are not these words, 'This is my body,' a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?" Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

The sacrament hath both a commandment and a promise. Bradford teacheth.

Brad. :—"Why my lord, I pray you tell the people what mood 'accipite, manducate,' is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth?"

At these words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should

(1) "Blessed are you when they shall revile you, and speak all that is naught against you, for my name's sake."—Matt. v.

Mary. teach a child ; and so concluded that it was no commandment, but
A. D. such a phrase as this, " I pray you give me drink, which," quoth he,
1555. " is no commandment, I trow." But Bradford prayed him to leave
 toying and trifling, and said thus :

Brad. :—" My lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free ? as you do in making it a necessary commandment, once a year, for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament."

Here the lord chancellor called him again diabolus¹ or calumniator, and began out of these words, " Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread [" yea bread," quoth Bradford] and drink of the cup," to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament : " for then," quoth he, " if it were a commandment, it should bind all men, in all places, and at all times."

Distinction between commandments.

Brad. :—" O my lord, discern between commandments: some be so general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons ; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac," etc.

Here my lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ : " for then," quoth he, " we should have eleven commandments."

Brad. :—" Indeed I think you think as you speak : for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, ' Drink ye all of it.' But how say you, my lords ? Christ saith to you bishops especially, ' Ite predicate evangelium.' ' Go and preach the gospel.' ' Feed Christ's flock,' etc. Is this a commandment, or no ?"

Winchester in a chafe. Tonstal's question.

Here was my lord chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him. Another, the bishop of Durham I ween, asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament—whether before the receiver received it, or no ?

As the cup is the Testament, so bread is the body.

Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary ; and further said, that as the cup was the New Testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so, that the bread is bread. " For," quoth he, " in all the Scripture ye shall not find this proposition, ' Non est panis,' ' There is no bread.'" And so he brought forth Chrysostome, " Si incorporei essemus :"² in summa, much ado was hereabouts ; they calling Bradford heretic, and he, desiring them to proceed on in God's name, looked for that which God had appointed for them to do.

L. Chan. :—" This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together that of mere necessity all must come to pass."

See Appendix.

But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wrest them into a contrary sense.

To God nothing is by fortune.

" Your lordship," quoth Bradford, " doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostles said, ' Lord,' quoth they, ' see how Herod

(1) Diabolus is as much as to say in Greek, a slanderer, or a caviller.

(2) Hom. lxxxiii. [§ 4] Matt. xxvi.

and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do.”¹

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Here began the lord chancellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, laicus (layman), “Why,” quoth he, “art thou no priest?”

The sentence of the curse.

Brad. :—“No, nor ever was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion; and yet I am thus handled at your hands; but God I doubt not will give his blessing where you curse.”

And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name’s sake. And so, praying God to give him repentance, and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the same city of London; this being then purposed of his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born: but their purpose concerning the place was afterward altered, for they burned him in London.

Bradford delivered to the sheriff, and sent to the Compter.

After the condemnation of master Bradford, which was the 30th day of January, master Bradford, being sent into prison, did there remain until the 1st day of July, during all which time, divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison: of whom first bishop Bonner, coming to the Compter to degrade Dr. Taylor the 4th day of February, entered talk with the said master Bradford, the effect whereof here ensueth.

See Appendix.

PRIVATE TALK HAD WITH JOHN BRADFORD, BY SUCH AS THE PRELATES SENT UNTO HIM, AFTER THE TIME OF CONDEMNATION, BY HIS OWN WRITING.

Upon the 4th of February, that is the same day master Rogers was burned, Bonner bishop of London came to the Compter in the Poultry, to degrade Dr. Taylor, about one of the clock at afternoon. But before he spake to master Taylor, he called for John Bradford which was prisoner there, whom when he saw, he put off his cap, and gave him his hand, saying:

Bonner :—“Because I perceive that ye are desirous to confer with some learned men, therefore I have brought master archdeacon Harpsfield to you. And I tell you, you do like a wise man. But I pray you go roundly to work, for the time is but short.”

Brad. :—“My lord, as roundly as I can I will go to work with you: I never desired to confer with any man, nor yet do. Howbeit if ye will have one to talk with me, I am ready.”

Bonner :—“What,” quoth the bishop in a fume to the keeper, “did you not tell me that this man desired conference?”

Keeper :—“No, my lord, I told you that he would not refuse to confer with any; but I did not say that it is his desire.”

Bonner :—“Well, master Bradford, you are well beloved, I pray you consider yourself, and refuse not charity when it is offered.”

Brad. :—“Indeed, my lord, this is small charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never brake your laws. In Turkey a man may have

Bradford desireth to confer with none, yet ready to talk.

Mary. charity; but in England I could not yet find it. I was condemned for my faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that do I not."

A. D.
1555.

Bonner :—"Well, well." And so he called for master Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

ANOTHER PRIVATE MATTER OF TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND WILLERTON, CRESWELL, HARDING, HARPSFIELD, AND OTHERS.

On another day of February, one master Willerton, chaplain of the bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford; but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore wished rather his departing than abiding, "Well, master Bradford," quoth he; "yet I pray you let us confer a little: perchance you may do me good, if I can do you none." Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the doctors, the fathers, of the bread in John vi., etc., labouring to prove transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

Willerton
sendeth
his
writing to
Bradford,
to prove
transub-
stantia-
tion.

But Bradford, on the contrary part, improved his authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and doctors his reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his reasons out of the Scriptures and doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of paper written on both sides, containing no reasons how he gathered his doctrine, but only bare sentences; Panis quem ego dabo, etc. The bread which I will give is my flesh: and the places in Matt. xxvi., Mark xiv., Luke xxii., and Cor. x. and xi., with some sentences of the doctors, all which made as much against him as with him.

Willerton
cometh
again to
Bradford.

In the afternoon he came himself, and there they had a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the church, saying, that "Bradford swerved from the church."

Brad. :—"No, that I do not, but ye do. For the church is Christ's spouse, and Christ's obedient spouse, which your church is not, which robbeth the people of the Lord's cup, and of service in the English tongue."

Willerton :—"Why? It is not profitable to have the service in English; for it is written, 'Labia sacerdotis custodiunt legem;' 'The lips of the priest should keep the law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge.'"

Brad. :—"Should not the people, then, have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ, 'Search the Scriptures.'"

Will. :—"This was not spoken to the people, but to the scribes and learned men."

Brad. :—"Then the people must not have the Scriptures?"

Will. :—"No, for it is written, 'Erunt docti à Deo;' 'They shall be all taught of God.'"

Brad. :—"And must we learn all at the priests?"

Will. :—"Yea."

Brad. :—"Then I see you would bring the people to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go; as the priests did then persuade the people."

Argu-
ment.
The peo-
ple must
not have
the Scrip-
tures.

At which words master Willerton was so offended, that he had no lust to talk any more. In the end Bradford gave him the reasons

which he had gathered against transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of reasons, "and then," quoth Bradford, "I will answer them."

"Well, I will do so," said Willerton, "but first I will answer yours." The which thing until this day he hath not done.

On the 12th of February, there came one of the earl of Derby's servants to Bradford, saying, "My lord hath sent me to you: he willeth you to tender yourself, and he will be good lord to you."

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Brad. :—"I thank his lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender myself more than God's honour."

Servant. :—"Ah, master Bradford! consider your mother, sisters, friends, kinsfolk, and country; what a great discomfort will it be unto them to see you die as a heretic!"

Brad. :—"I have learned to forsake father, mother, brother, sister, friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self; for else I cannot be Christ's disciple."

Serv. :—"If my lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the realm, would you not be content to be at the queen's appointment, where she would appoint you beyond the sea?"

Brad. :—"No, I had rather be burned in England, than be burned beyond the seas. For I know that if she should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me."

TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND ONE PERCIVAL CRESWELL; AND AFTER THAT WITH DR. HARDING.

Upon the 14th of February, Percival Creswell, an old acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a kinsman of master Feeknam's, who after many words, said,

Creswell. :—"I pray you let me make labour for you."

Bradford. :—"You may do what ye will."

Cres. :—"But tell me what suit I should make for you."

Brad. :—"Forsooth that ye will do, do it not at my request, for I desire nothing at your hands. If the queen will give me life, I will thank her. If she will banish me, I will thank her. If she will burn me, I will thank her. If she will condemn me to perpetual prisonment, I will thank her."

Creswell offereth to make suit for Bradford.

Hereupon Creswell went away, and about eleven of the clock he and the other man came again, and brought a book of More's making, desiring Bradford to read it over. Bradford taking the book, said:

More's book brought.

Brad. :—"Good Percival, I am settled for being moved in this article."

Cres. :—"Oh! if ever ye loved me, do one thing for me."

Brad. :—"What is it?"

Cres. :—"Desire and name what learned man or men ye will have to come unto you: my lord of York, my lord of Lincoln, my lord of Bath, and others will gladly come unto you."

Brad. :—"No, never will I desire them, or any other, to come to confer with me; for I am as certain of my doctrine as I am of any thing. But for your pleasure, and also that all men may know I am not ashamed to have my faith sifted and tried, bring whom ye will, and I will talk with them."

So they went their way. About three of the clock in the afternoon, master doctor Harding, who was the bishop of Lincoln's chaplain, came to Bradford, and after a great and solemn protestation, showing how that he had prayed to God, before he came, to turn his talk to Bradford's good, he began to tell of the good opinion he had

Harding cometh to Bradford.

Mary. of Bradford; and spent the time in such trattling, so that their talk was to little purpose, save that Bradford prayed him to consider from whence he was fallen, and not to follow the world, nor to love it; for the love of God is not where the world is. But Harding counted Bradford in a damnable estate, as one being out of the church; and therefore willed him to take heed of his soul, and not to die in such an opinion.

"What, master Harding!" quoth Bradford, "I have heard you, with these ears, maintain this that I stand in."

Harding :—"I grant that I have taught that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a subtle doctrine; but otherwise I never taught it."

Harding
against
Peter
Martyr,
Bucer,
and Lu-
ther.

And so he, inveighing against marriages of priests, and namely against Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Luther, and such, which for breaking their vows were justly given up into heresies (as he said). Bradford seeing him altogether given up to popery, after admonishment thereof, bade him farewell.

TALK BETWEEN DR. HARPSFIELD, ARCHDEACON, AND MASTER BRADFORD.

Felicity
coveted
of all
men, but
the way
to felicity
not
known to
all men.

On the 15th of February, Percival Creswell came with master Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, and a servant waiting upon him. After formal salutations, he made a long oration, of which this is a short sum; that all men, even the infidels, Turks, Jews, anabaptists, and libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain to it by their religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Harpsfield :—"But the way thither, is not all alike: for the infidels by Jupiter and Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the soul."

Brad. :—"You speak truly."

Harps. :—"Well, then here is the matter; to know the way to this heaven."

The true
way to
felicity.

Brad. :—"We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: 'I am the way.'"

Harps. :—"It is true that you say, and false also. I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ."

Brad. :—"I have learned to discern betwixt faith and Christ. Albeit I confess, that whoso believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved."

Harps. :—"No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, 'Lord, Lord, have we not cast out devils?' etc. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to these, 'Depart from me, I know you not.'"

Brad. :—"You must make difference betwixt believing, and saying, I believe: as for example, if one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his saying, ye will not believe him when you see he goeth about to utter and do all the evil against you that he can."

Harps. :—"Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ.² How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?"

Brad. :—"Forsooth, we must seek him by his word, and in his word, and after his word."

Harps. :—"Very good: but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by baptism?"

Baptism
an out-
ward seal.

Brad. :—"Baptism is the sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engrafted into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that die

(1) Note the difference between believing, and saying, I believe.

(2) The way to come to Christ, is by the word: for by the word cometh faith, by faith we come to Christ.

without baptism. I will not tie God, where he is not bound. Some infants die, whose parents desire baptism for them, and cannot have it."

Harps. :—"To those we may think perchance that God will show mercy."

Brad. :—"Yea, the children whose parents do condemn baptism will not I condemn, because the child shall not bear the father's offence."

Harps. :—"Well, we agree, that by baptism then we are brought, and, as a man would say, begotten to Christ: for Christ is our Father, and the church his spouse is our mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their father, and Eve for their mother; so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the church for their mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adam's side, so was the church taken out of Christ's side; whereout flowed blood, for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins."

Brad. :—"All this is truly spoken."

Harps. :—"Now then, tell me whether this church of Christ hath not been always?"

Brad. :—"Yea, since the creation of man, and shall be for ever."

Harps. :—"Very good. But yet tell me whether this church is a visible church, or no?"

Brad. :—"It is no otherwise visible, than Christ was here on earth; that is, by no exterior pomp or show that setteth her forth commonly; and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the church of the same substance that Christ was of, 'Flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones;' as Paul saith, Ephes. v. Look, therefore, how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on earth, that is, by considering him after the word of God, so is the church known."

Harps. :—"I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this church a multitude?"

Brad. :—"Yes, that it is. Howbeit, 'Latet anguis in herba,' as the proverb is; for in your question is a subtlety. What visible multitude was there in Elias's time, or when Moses was on the mount, Aaron and all Israel worshiping the calf?"

Harps. :—"Ye divert from the matter."

Brad. :—"No, nothing at all. For I do but prevent you, knowing well where about you go. And therefore fewer words might well serve, if that you so would."

Harps. :—"Well, I perceive you have knowledge, and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of God's word?"

Brad. :—"Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for confessing of the gospel, I will go with you: for else, if you will, you may know that persecution often letteth preaching."¹

Harps. :—"Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the sacraments administered?"

Brad. :—"It hath the sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letteth.² But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If heretics have baptism, and do baptize, as they did in St. Cyprian's time, you know this baptism is baptism, and not to be reiterate."

This, Bradford did speak, that the standers-by might see, that though the papists' church have baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true church, neither need we to be baptized again.

Harps. :—"You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more errors than one."

Brad. :—"So you say; but that is not enough till you prove them."

Harps. :—"Well, this church is a multitude.³ Hath it not the preaching of

(1) Preaching of the gospel goeth ever with the church, unless it be interrupted sometimes by persecution.

(2) Administration of sacraments is one note, but not the cause, of the true church: and yet not such a note, but that it may often be letteth by persecution, and yet the true church remain. The pope's church hath baptism and sacraments administered: ergo, the pope's church is the true church. The argument faileth. "A causâ non sufficiente, vel non causâ, ut causâ."

(3) A popish distinction of the church to be a multitude, having preaching of the gospel, ministration of the sacraments, power of jurisdiction, and succession of bishops.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

The church is our mother.

Descent of the church.

The church of Christ is visible, even as Christ was.

Multitude not the surest mark to know the church.

Harpsfield prevented of his purpose.

Mary. the gospel, and the ministration of the sacraments? And, yet more, hath it not the power of jurisdiction?"

A. D. *Brad.* :—"What jurisdiction is exercised in persecution and affliction?"

1555. *Harps.* :—"I mean by jurisdiction, admonishing one another, and so forth."

Brad. :—"Well, go to; what then?"

Harps. :—"It hath also succession of bishops."¹

And here Harpsfield made much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Brad. :—"You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the church that you go about to set up, will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of succession of bishops. In Christ's church antichrist will sit. And Peter telleth us, as it went in the old church, afore Christ's coming, so will it be in the new church since Christ's coming: that is, as there were false prophets, and such as bear rule were adversaries to the true prophets, so shall there be (saith he) false teachers, even of such as are bishops, and bear rule amongst the people."

Harps. :—"You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the succession of bishops."

Brad. :—"Do so."

Harps. :—"Tell me, were not the apostles bishops?"

Apostles
and
bishops,
be sundry
offices.

Brad. :—"No, except you will make a new definition of a bishop: that is, give him no certain place."

Harps. :—"Indeed, the apostles' office was not the bishops' office, for it was universal; but yet Christ instituted bishops in his church, as Paul saith, 'he hath given pastors, prophets,' etc., so that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the succession of bishops to be an essential point."

Brad. :—"The ministry of God's word and ministers be an essential point. But to translate this to the bishops and their succession, is a plain subtlety: and therefore that it may be plain, I will ask you a question. Tell me, whether that the Scripture knew any difference between bishops and ministers, which ye call priests?"²

Harps. :—"No."

Brad. :—"Well, then, go on forwards, and let us see what ye shall get now by the succession of bishops: that is, of ministers, which cannot be understood of such bishops as minister not, but lord it."

The as-
cent and
descent of
succes-
sion of
high
priests.

Harps. :—"I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your doctrine you can never show in your church, a multitude which ministereth God's word and his sacraments, which hath jurisdiction and succession of bishops, which hath from time to time believed as you believe, beginning now, and so going upwards, as I will do of our doctrine; and therefore are ye out of the church, and so cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me downwards a show to blear people's eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial."

Brad. :—"Ye must and will, I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures, and examples of good men."

Harps. :—"Yea."

Brad. :—"Well, then, Stephen was accused and condemned, as I am, that he had taught new and false doctrine, before the fathers of the church then, as they were taken. Stephen for his purgation improveth³ their accusation. But how? doth he it by going upwards? No, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till Esaias's time, and the people's captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until that time he was in, which was (I think) upon four hundred years, and called them by their right names, hell-hounds, rather than heaven-hounds. On this sort will I prove my faith, and that can you never do yours."

(1) Succession of bishops is no essential part of the church, but rather "accidens commune:" which being interrupted, yet the church may stand as it did both before Christ's coming, and after at the coming of antichrist.

(2) The ministry of God's word and ministers, be an essential point of the true church; but not the local succession of ministers in one certain place.

(3) "Improveth," i. e. refutes. See Tyndale's works, Edit. Russel, Vol. i. p. 503; Nare's Glossary.—ED.

Harps. :—"Yea sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then
could we believe you."

Mary.

Here Bradford would have answered, that Stephen's enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did : but, as he was in speaking, master Harpsfield rose up ; and the keeper and others that stood by began to talk gently, praying Bradford to take heed to what master archdeacon spake, who still said, that Bradford was out of the church.¹

A. D.
1555.

Brad. :—"Sir, I am most certain that I am in Christ's church, and I can show a demonstration of my religion from time to time continually.—God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ, be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false teachers and blind guides, through whom, alas, I fear me, much hurt will come to this realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his truth and poor church for ever. Amen!"

Brad-
field's
prayer.

Then the archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next morning.

THE NEXT DAY'S TALK BETWEEN DR. HARPSFIELD AND MASTER BRADFORD.

Upon the 16th of February in the morning, the archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and, after a few by-words spoken, they sat down.

See
Appendix

Master archdeacon Harpsfield began a very long oration, first repeating what they had said, and how far they had gone overnight ; and therewith did begin to prove upwards succession of bishops here in England for eight hundred years : in France at Lyons for twelve hundred years : in Spain at Seville for eight hundred years : in Italy at Milan for twelve hundred years, labouring by this to prove his church. He used also succession of bishops in the East church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an exhortation and an interrogation : the exhortation, that Bradford would obey this church ; the interrogation, whether Bradford could show any such succession for the demonstration of his church (for so he called it) which he followed. Unto this his long oration, Bradford made this short answer :

Harps-
field
again
proveth
his
church by
succession
of
high
priests.

Brad. :—"My memory is evil, so that I cannot answer particularly your long oration. Therefore I will generally do it, thinking because your oration is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small answer will serve. If Christ or his apostles, being here on earth, had been required by the prelates of the church then, to have made a demonstration of that church by succession of such high priests as had approved the doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do : that is, have alleged that which upholdeth the church, even the verity, the word of God taught and believed, not by the high priests, which of long time had persecuted it, but by the prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for heretics of the church : which church was not tied to succession, but to the word of God. And thus to think St. Peter giveth me occasion, when he saith, that as it went in the church before Christ's coming, so shall it go in the church after his coming : but then the pillars of the church were persecutors of the church ; therefore the like we must look for now."

Brad-
ford's
answer.
Outward
descent of
ministers
maketh
not the
true
church :
but the
truth of
God's
word
maketh
true mi-
nisters.

Harps. :—"I can gather and prove succession in Jerusalem of the high priests from Aaron's time."

(1) The papists challenge to them the true church, even as the mother of the dead child challenged the living child from the true mother. 1 Kings iii.

*Mary.**A. D.
1555.*

The Jews corrupt the law, as the papists do the Scriptures. Comparison between the old pharisees and our new papists.

Brad.:—I grant, but not such succession as allowed the truth.”¹

Harps.:—“Why! did they not allow Moses’s law?”

Brad.:—“Yes, and keep it, as touching the books thereof; as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do; and therefore the persecution which they stirred up against the prophets and Christ, was not for the law, but for the interpretation of it: for they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, death I look daily for, yea hourly, and I think my time be but very short. Therefore I had need to spend as much time with God as I can, whilst I have it, for his help and comfort; and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly, and in more words, answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your oration, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly; but because I dare not, nor I will not, leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall desire you to hold me excused, because I do as I do; and heartily thank you for your gentle good will. I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life I do wish to myself.”

And so Bradford began to rise up. But then began master archdeacon to tell him that he was in very perilous case; and that he was sorry to see him so settled. “As for death, whether it be nigh or far off, I know not, neither forceth it, so that you did die well.”²

Brad.:—“I doubt not in this case but that I shall die well: for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall die cheerfully, to the comfort of his children.”

Harps.:—“But what if you be deceived?”

Brad.:—“What if you should say the sun doth not shine now?”—(the sun did shine through the window where they sat.)

Harps.:—“Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless.”

Brad.:—“Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigilant. But in this case I cannot be too secure, for I am most assured I am in the truth.”

Harps.:—“That are ye not; for you are out of the catholic church.”

Brad.:—“No, though you have excommunicated me out of your church, yet am I in the catholic church of Christ, and am, and by God’s grace shall be, a child, and an obedient child, of it for ever: I hope Christ will have no less care for me, than he had for the blind man excommunicated of the synagogue. And further, I am sure that the necessary articles of the faith, I mean the twelve articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy church, so that even your church hath taken something too much upon her to excommunicate me for that, which, by the testimony of my lord of Durham in the book of the sacrament lately put forth, was free many a hundred years after Christ, for us to believe or not believe.”

Harps.:—“What is that?”

Brad.:—“Transubstantiation.”

Harps.:—“Why: ye are not condemned therefore only.”

Brad.:—“For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ’s body.”

Harps.:—“You agree not with us in the presence, nor in any thing else.”

Brad.:—“How you believe you know: for my part I confess a presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver.”

Harps.:—“Nay, you must believe a real presence in the sacrament.”

Brad.:—“In the sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor tie him to it otherwise than faith seeth and perceiveth. If I should include Christ really present in the sacrament, or tie him to it otherwise than to the faith of the receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will by God’s grace believe.”

Harps.:—“More pity: but a man may easily perceive, you make no presence at all, and therefore you agree not therein with us.”

(1) The true succession of priests, and the succession of true priests, are two things.

(2) Bold confidence and hope of God’s word and promise, seem strange among them which are not exercised in mortification.

Free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation many hundred years after Christ.

Christ not included really in the sacrament.

Christ’s body present to the faith of the receiver.

Brad. :—" I confess a presence, and a true presence but to the faith of the receiver." *Mar.*

" What," quoth one that stood by, " of Christ's very body which died for us?" A. D.

Brad. :—" Yea, even of whole Christ God and man, to feed the faith of him that receiveth it." 1555.

Harps. :—" Why? This is nothing else but to exclude the omnipotency of God,¹ and all kind of miracle in the sacrament."

Brad. :—" I do not exclude his omnipotency, but you do it rather; for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of bread and wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the sacrament, we come not to feed our bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of bread; but we come to feed our souls with Christ by faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but panem domini, as Judas did, and not panem dominum, as the other apostles did."

Harps. :—" The wicked do receive the very body of Christ, but not the grace of his body."

Brad. :—" They receive not the body,² for Christ's body is no dead carcase: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without grace, I trow."

Harps. :—" Well, you have very many errors. You count the mass for abomination, and yet St. Ambrose said mass; " and so he read, out of a book written, a sentence of St. Ambrose to prove it.

Brad. :—" Why sir? the mass as it is now, was nothing so in St. Ambrose's time.³ Was not the most part of the canon made sythen by Gregory and Scholasticus?" *See Appendix.*

Harps. :—" Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye say) by Gregory: but Scholasticus was before St. Ambrose's time."

Brad. :—" I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. St. Gregory saith, that the apostles said mass without the canon, only with the Lord's Prayer."

Harps. :—" You say true: for the canon is not the greatest part of the mass, the greatest part is the sacrifice, elevation, transubstantiation, and adoration."

Brad. :—" I can away with none of those."

Harps. :—" No, I think the same: but yet ' hoc facite,' telleth plainly the sacrifice of the church."

Brad. :—" You confound sacrifices, not discerning betwixt the sacrifice of the church, and for the church. The sacrifice of the church is no propitiatory sacrifice, but a gratulatory sacrifice; and as for ' hoc facite,' is not referred to any sacrificing, but to the whole action of taking, eating, etc." Sacrifice of the church. Sacrifice for the church.

Harps. :—" You speak not learnedly now: for Christ made his supper only to the twelve apostles, not admitting his mother or anv of the seventy disciples to it. Now the apostles do signify the priests."⁴

Brad. :—" I think that you speak as you would men should understand it: for else you would not keep the cup away from the laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your bread: for I perceive you order the matter so as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole church."

Then Harpsfield would have proved elevation by a place of Basil.⁵

Brad. :—" I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the doctors with you. I have been in prison long without books and all necessaries for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I, by your leave, must now leave off, to prepare for him."

Harps. :—" If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in soul or body. For you are in a perilous case both ways."

Brad. :—" Sir, I thank you for your good will. My case is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me; for death to me shall be life."

(1) None denieth omnipotency more than the papists, who say that Christ's body cannot be in the sacrament unless the substance of bread be away.

(2) Argument: Whoso receive the body of Christ do receive the fruit and grace of life: no wicked men do receive the fruit and grace of life. Ergo: No wicked men receive the body of Christ.

(3) Mass in St. Ambrose's time. That is false, for Scholasticus was not before Ambrose's time.

(4) Note this doctrine, good reader.

(5) Elevation was not brought in indeed before the time of pope Honorius. [Decretal. Greg. IX. lib. iii. tit. 41. § 19.]

Mary.

Creswell.—"It were best for you to desire master archdeacon that he would make suit for you, that you might have a time to confer."

A. D.
1555.

Harps.—"I will do the best I can: for I pity his case."

Brad.—"Sir, I will not desire any body to sue for time for me. I am not wavering, neither would I that any body should think I were so. But if you have the charity and love you pretend towards me, and thereto do think that I am in an error, I think the same should move you to do as you would be done to. As ye think of me, so do I of you, that you are far out of the way; and I do not only think it, but also am thereof most assured."

And in this and such like gentle talk they departed.

THE TALK OF DR. HEATH, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, AND DAY,
BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, WITH MASTER BRADFORD.

The 23d of the same month, the archbishop of York and the bishop of Chichester came to the Compter to speak with Bradford. When he was come before them, they both, and especially the bishop of York, used him very gently: they would have him to sit down, and because he would not, they also would not sit. So they all stood, and whether he would or not, they would needs he should put on, not only his night-cap, but his upper cap also, saying unto him, that obedience was better than sacrifice.

Now thus standing together, my lord of York began to tell Bradford how that they were not sent to him, but of love and charity they came to him: and he, for that acquaintance also which he had with Bradford, more than the bishop of Chichester had. Then after commending Bradford's godly life, he concluded with this question, how he was certain of salvation, and of his religion? After thanks for their good will, Bradford answered, "By the word of God—even by the Scriptures—I am certain of salvation and religion."

York.—"Very well said: but how do ye know the word of God and the Scriptures, but by the church?"

Brad.—"Indeed, my lord, the church was and is a mean to bring a man more speedily to know the Scriptures and the word of God, as was the woman of Samaria a mean, that the Samaritans knew Christ: but as when they had heard him speak, they said, 'Now we know that he is Christ, not because of thy words, but because we ourselves have heard him;' so after we come to the hearing and reading of the Scriptures showed unto us, and discerned by the church, we do believe them, and know them as Christ's sheep—not because the church saith, they are the Scriptures, but because they be so; being thereof assured by the same Spirit which wrote and spake them."

York.—"You know, in the apostles' time, at the first, the word was not written."

Brad.—"True, if you mean it for some books of the New Testament: but else for the Old Testament Peter telleth us, 'Firmiorem sermonem propheticum habemus,' 'We have a more sure word of prophecy:' not that it is simply so, but in respect of the apostles, who, being alive and compassed with infirmity, attributed to the word written more firmity, as wherewith no fault could be found; whereas for the infirmity of their persons men perchance might have found some fault at their preaching: albeit in very deed no less obedience and faith ought to have been given to the one, than to the other; for all proceedeth forth of one Spirit of truth."

York.—"That place of Peter is not so to be understood of the word written."

Brad.—"Yea sir, that it is, and of none other."

Chichester.—"Yea, indeed master Bradford doth tell you truly in that point."

York.—"Well, you know that Irenæus and others do magnify much, and allege the church against the heretics, and not the Scripture."

Although in the apostles' time certain books of the New Testament were not written, yet the apostles send us "ad firmiorem sermonem propheticum"

Brad. :—"True, for they had to do with such heretics as did deny the Scriptures, and yet did magnify the apostles; so that they were enforced to use the authority of those churches wherein the apostles had taught, and which had still retained the same doctrine."

Chich. :—"You speak the very truth; for the heretics did refuse all Scriptures, except it were a piece of Luke's gospel."

Brad. :—"Then the alleging of the church cannot be principally used against me, which am so far from denying of the Scriptures, that I appeal unto them utterly, as to the only judge."

York. :—"A pretty matter, that you will take upon you to judge the church: I pray you where hath your church been hitherto? for the church of Christ is catholic and visible hitherto."

Brad. :—"My lord, I do not judge the church, when I discern it from that congregation, and those which be not the church; and I never denied the church to be catholic and visible, although at some times it is more visible than at some."

Chich. :—"I pray you tell me where the church which allowed your doctrine, was, these four hundred years?"

Brad. :—"I will tell you, my lord, or rather you shall tell yourself, if you will tell me this one thing: where the church was in Elias's time, when Elias said, that he was left alone?"

Chich. :—"That is no answer."

Brad. :—"I am sorry that you say so: but this will I tell your lordship, that if you had the same eyes wherewith a man might have espied the church then, you would not say it were no answer. The fault why the church is not seen of you, is not because the church is not visible, but because your eyes are not clear enough to see it."

Chich. :—"You are much deceived in making this collation betwixt the church then and now."

York. :—"Very well spoken, my lord; for Christ said, 'Edificabo ecclesiam,' 'I will build my church;' and not 'I do, or have built it;' but, 'I will build it.'"

Brad. :—"My lords, Peter teacheth me to make this collation, saying, as in the people there were false prophets, which were most in estimation afore Christ's coming, so shall there be false teachers amongst the people after Christ's coming; and very many shall follow them. And as for your future tense, I hope your grace will not thereby conclude Christ's church not to have been before, but rather that there is no building in the church but by Christ's work only: for Paul and Apollos be but waterers."

Chich. :—"In good faith I am sorry to see you so light in judging the church."

York. :—"He taketh upon him, as they all do, to judge the church. A man shall never come to certainty that doth as they do."

Brad. :—"My lords, I speak simply what I think, and desire reason to answer my objections. Your affections and sorrows cannot be my rules. If that you consider the order and case of my condemnation, I cannot think but that it should something move your honours. You know it well enough (for you heard it), no matter was laid against me, but what was gathered upon mine own confession. Because I did deny transubstantiation, and the wicked to receive Christ's body in the sacrament, therefore I was condemned and excommunicated, but not of the church, although the pillars of the church (as they be taken) did it."

Chich. :—"No; I heard say the cause of your imprisonment was, for that you exhorted the people to take the sword in the one hand, and the mattock in the other."

Brad. :—"My lord, I never meant any such thing, nor spake any thing in that sort."

York. :—"Yea, and you behaved yourself before the council so stoutly at the first, that you would defend the religion then; and therefore worthily were you prisoned."

Brad. :—"Your grace did hear me answer my lord chancellor to that point. But put case I had been so stout as they and your grace make it; were not the laws of the realm on my side then? Wherefore unjustly was I prisoned: only that which my lord chancellor propounded, was my confession of Christ's

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The authority of the church alleged against heretics. To judge the church.

The church is catholic and visible, &c.

The true church is visible, and ever hath been; but every man hath not eyes to see it.

The bishops driven to an inconvenience.

Bradford condemned without just cause, but as was gathered at his judgment against him.

See Appendix.

False surmise.

Mary. truth against transubstantiation, and of that which the wicked do receive, as I said."

A. D. *York* :—" You deny the presence."

1555. *Brad.* :—" I do not, to the faith of the worthy receivers."

The presence of Christ's body to the faith of the worthy receiver. *York* :—" Why ! what is that to say other than that Christ lieth not on the altar ?"

Brad. :—" My lord, I believe no such presence."

Chich. :—" It seemeth that you have not read Chrysostome, for he proveth it."

Hyper-bolical phrase of Chrysostome. *Brad.* :—" Hitherto I have been kept well enough without books : howbeit this I do remember of Chrysostome, that he saith, that Christ lieth upon the altar, as the seraphim with their tongues touch our lips with the coals of the altar in heaven, which is a hyperbolical locution, of which you know Chrysostome is full."

Bradford excommunicated with the poor blind man. *York* :—" It is evident that you are too far gone : but let us come then to the church, out of the which ye are excommunicate."

Brad. :—" I am not excommunicate out of Christ's church, my lord ; although they which seem to be in the church, and of the church, have excommunicated me, as the poor blind man was (John ix.), I am sure Christ receiveth me."

York :—" You do deceive yourself."

Here, after much talk of excommunication, at length Bradford said :

" Assuredly as I think you did well to depart from the Romish church, so I think ye have done wickedly to couple yourselves to it again ; for you can never prove it, which you call the mother church, to be Christ's church."

Chich. :—" Ah, master Bradford ! you were but a child when this matter began. I was a young man, and then coming from the university, I went with the world : but, I tell you, it was always against my conscience."

The pope proved to be anti-christ by Scripture. *Brad.* :—" I was but a child then, howbeit, as I told you, I think you have done evil : for ye are come, and have brought others, to that wicked man which sitteth in the temple of God, that is, in the church ; for it cannot be understand of Mahomet, or any out of the church, but of such as bear rule in the church."

York :—" See how you build your faith upon such places of Scripture as are most obscure, to deceive yourself, as though ye were in the church, where you are not."

Transubstantiation. *Brad.* :—" Well, my lord, though I might by fruits judge of you and others, yet will I not utterly exclude you out of the church. And if I were in your case, I would not condemn him utterly that is of my faith in the sacrament ; knowing as you know, that at the least eight hundred years after Christ, as my lord of Durham writeth, it was free to believe or not to believe transubstantiation."

York :—" This is a toy that you have found out of your own brain ; as though a man not believing as the church doth (that is, transubstantiation), were of the church."

Chich. :—" He is a heretic, and so none of the church, that doth hold any doctrine against the definition of the church ; as a man to hold against transubstantiation.¹ Cyprian was no heretic, though he believed re-baptizing of them which were baptized of heretics, because he held it before the church had defined it ; whereas if he had holden it after, then had he been a heretic."

Brad. :—" Oh, my lord ! will ye condemn to the devil any man that believeth truly the twelve articles of the faith (wherein I take the unity of Christ's church to consist), although in some points he believe not the definition of that which ye call the church ? I doubt not but that he which holdeth firmly the articles of our belief, though in other things he dissent from your definitions, yet he shall be saved."

" Yea," said both the bishops (York and Chichester), " this is your divinity."

Brad. :—" No, it is Paul's ; who saith, that if they hold the foundation, Christ, though they build upon him straw and stubble, yet they shall be saved."

York :—" Lord God ! how you delight to lean to so hard and dark places of the Scriptures."

Chich. :—" I will show you how that Luther did excommunicate Zuinglius for this matter : " and so he read a place of Luther making for his purpose.

(1) Note how these bishops themselves do grant that the time was, when transubstantiation was not defined by the church : Tonstal saith, that it was more than eight hundred years after Christ.

Brad. :—" My lord ; what Luther writeth, as you much pass not, no more do I in this case. My faith is not builded on Luther, Zuinglius, or Cœcolampadius, in this point : and indeed to tell you truly, I never read any of their works in this matter. As for them, I do think assuredly that they were, and are, God's children, and saints with him."

York :—" Well, you are out of the communion of the church."

Brad. :—" I am not; for it consisteth and is in faith."

York :—" Lo, how you make your church invisible; for you would have the communion of it to consist in faith."

Brad. :—" For to have communion with the church needeth no visibleness of it; for communion consisteth, as I said, in faith, and not in exterior ceremonies, as appeareth both by Paul, who would have one faith, and by Irenæus to Victor, for the observation of Easter; saying that disagreeing of fasting should not break the agreeing of faith."

Chich. :—" That same place hath often even wounded my conscience, because we disservered ourselves from the see of Rome."

Brad. :—" Well, God forgive you; for you have done evil to bring England thither again."

Here my lord of York took a book of paper of common places, and read a piece of St. Augustine 'Contra epistolam Fundamenti,' how that there were many things that did hold St. Augustine in the bosom of the church: consent of people and nations; authority confirmed with miracles, nourished with hope, increased with charity, established with antiquity: "besides this, there holdeth me in the church," said Augustine, "the succession of priests from Peter's seat until this present bishop. Last of all, the very name of catholic doth hold me," etc. "Lo," quoth he, "how say you to this of St. Augustine? Paint me out your church thus."

Brad. :—" My lord, these words of St. Augustine make as much for me as for you: although I might answer, that all this, if they had been so firm as you make them, might have been alleged against Christ and his apostles: for there was the law and the ceremonies consented on by the whole people, confirmed with miracles, antiquity, and continual succession of bishops from Aaron's time until that present."

Chich. :—" In good faith, master Bradford, you make too much of the estate of the church before Christ's coming."

Brad. :—" Therein I do but as Peter teacheth, 2 Pet. ii., and Paul very often. You would gladly have your church here very glorious, and as a most pleasant lady. But as Christ saith, 'Beatus est quicumque non fuerit offensus per me;' so may his church say, 'Blessed are they that are not offended at me.'"

York :—" Yea, you think that none is of the church, but such as suffer persecution."

Brad. :—" What I think, God knoweth; I pray your grace judge me by my words and speaking, and mark that Paul saith, 'Omnes qui,' etc., 'All that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.' Sometimes Christ's church hath rest here; but commonly it is not so, and specially towards the end her form will be more unseemly."

York :—" But what say you to St. Augustine? where is your church that hath the consent of people and nations?"

Brad. :—" Even all people and nations that be God's people have consented with me, and I with them, in the doctrine of faith."

York :—" Lo, you go about to shift off all things."

Brad. :—" No, my lord; I mean simply, and so speak, God knoweth."

York :—" St. Augustine doth here talk of succession, even from Peter's seat."

Brad. :—" Yea, that seat then was nothing so much corrupt as it is now."

York :—" Well, you always judge the church."

Brad. :—" No, my lord; Christ's sheep discern Christ's voice, but they judge it not; so they discern the church, but judge her not."

York :—" Yes, that you do."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Bradford hangeth not on Luther, etc., and yet he accounteth them good men. Communion of the church.

See
Appendix.

The church commonly not glorious in this world, but poor and persecuted. Consent of the godly.

Succession from Peter.

Mary. Brad. :—" No, and it like your grace ; and yet tui well may one not only doubt, but judge also of the Romish church ; for she obeyeth not Christ's voice, as Christ's true church doth."

A. D. 1555. York :—" Wherein ?"

The voice of Christ. Brad. :—" In Latin service, and robbing the laity of Christ's cup in the sacrament ; and in many other things, in which it committeth most horrible sacrilege."

Chich. :—" Why, Latin service was in England when the pope was gone."

Brad. :—" True ; the time was in England when the pope was away, but not all popery—as in king Henry's days."

Latin service defended. York :—" Latin service was appointed to be sung and had in the choir, where only were clerici, that is, such as understood Latin ; the people sitting in the body of the church, praying their own private prayers ; and this may well be yet seen by making of the chancel and choir so as the people could not come in, or hear them."

Against Latin service. See Appendix. Brad. :—" Yea, but both in Chrysostome's time, and also in the Latin church in St. Jerome's time, ' all the church,' saith he, ' reboat, Amen ;' that is, answereth again mightily, ' Amen : ' whereby we may see that the prayers were made so, that both the people heard them and understood them."

The people robbed of the cup. Chich. :—" Ye are to blame, to say that the church robbeth the people of the cup."

Brad. :—" Well, my lord, term it as it please you ; all men know that the laity hath none of it."

Chich. :—" Indeed I would wish the church would define again, that they might have it, for my part."

Brad. :—" If God make it free, who can define to make it bond ?"

York :—" Well, master Bradford, we leese but labour ; for ye seek to put away all things which are told you to your good : your church no man can know."

Brad. :—" Yes, that ye may well."

York :—" I pray you whereby ?"

The church is known only by the Scriptures. Brad. :—" Forsooth Chrysostome saith, ' tantummodo per Scripturas ; ' ' alonly by the Scriptures : ' and this speaketh he very oftentimes, as ye well know."

York :—" Indeed that is of Chrysostome in *Opere imperfecto*,¹ which may be doubted of. The thing whereby the church may be known best, is succession of bishops."

Brad. :—" No, my lord, I yra full well writeth upon Matthew, that ' The church consisteth not in men, by reason either of secular or temporal power ; but in men indued with true knowledge, and confession of faith, and of verity ; ' ² And in Hilary's time, you know he writeth to Auxentius, that the church did rather ' delitescere in cavernis,' than ' eminere in primariis sedibus : ' [that is, was hidden rather in caves and holes, than did glisten and shine in thrones of pre-eminence.]"

Then came one of their servants and told them, that my lord of Durham tarried for them at master York's house ; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with Bradford. And after that their man was come, they put up their written books of common places, and said that they lamented his case : they willed him to read over a book which did Dr. Crome good. And so, wishing him good in words, they went their way, and poor Bradford to his prison.

The coming of two Spanish friars to Bradford. After this communication with the bishops ended, within two days following came into the Compter two Spanish friars to talk with master Bradford, sent (as they said) by the earl of Derby ; of whom the one was the king's confessor, the other was Alphonsus, who had before

(1) " Chrys. In opere imperfecto ; " Hom. 49, tom. vi. p. 946. Paris, 1836. The papal censors have, with Bellarmine's approbation, foully crased these words, under pretence of their being an Arian interpolation. Gibbing's Preface (p. 31) to Reprint of the Roman Index Expurg. (Dublin, 1837).—Ed.

(2) " Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis secularis aut ecclesiasticæ, sed in hominibus in quibus est notitia vera, et confessio fidei et veritatis."

written a popish book against heresies, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth. Mary.

A. D.
1555.

TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND TWO SPANISH FRIARS.

On the 25th day of February, about eight of the clock in the morning, two Spanish friars came to the Compter where Bradford was prisoner; to whom Bradford was called. Then the one friar, which was the king's confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of Bradford, whether he had not seen or heard of one Alphonsus, that had written against heresies? ¹

Brad. :—" I do not know him."

Confessor :—" Well, this man [pointing to Alphonsus²] is he. We are come to you of love and charity, by the means of the earl of Derby, because you desired to confer with us."

Brad. :—" I never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other: but, seeing you are come of charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you; and as touching conference, though I desire it not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you, if you will."

Alph. :—" It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of God's Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addict to your own self-will or wit."

Whereupon Bradford made a prayer, and besought God to direct all their wills, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his children for ever.

Alph. :—" Yea, you must pray with your heart. For if you speak but with tongue only, God will not give you his grace."

Brad. :—" Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words: now charity would have you leave the judgment of the heart to God."

Alph. :—" You must be as it were a neuter, and not wedded to yourself, but as one standing in doubt. Pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire; for in vain labourerth our tongue to speak else."

Brad. :—" Sir, my sentence, if you mean it for religion, must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am condemned: I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be most certain of it; and therefore I pray God to confirm me more in it; for it is his truth. And because it is so certain and true that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any man; in respect whereof I am both glad of your coming, and thank you for it."

No man ought to be in doubt of his religion.

Alph. :—" What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not."

Brad. :—" Sir, I have been in prison almost two years: I never transgressed any of their laws where-for I might justly be prisoned; and now am I condemned, only because I frankly confessed (whereof I repent not) my faith concerning the sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no transubstantiation, the other, that the wicked do not receive Christ's body."

Why Bradford was condemned.

Alph. :—" Let us look a little on the first. Do you not believe that Christ is present really and corporally in the form of bread?"

Brad. :—" No, I do believe that Christ is present to the faith of the worthy receiver, as there is present bread and wine to the senses and outward man: as

Christ how present.

(1) "Alphonsi a Castro Zamorensis adversus omnes hæreses libri xiv.; nunc postremo ab auct. recognitum et auctum:" Antverpiæ, 1568. This was rather a popular work, and was first published at Paris in 1534; an edition which has been valued as containing (lib. i. cap. 4) a passage omitted in many subsequent editions, relative to the ignorance of some of the Roman pontiffs. See Walch. Biblioth. Theol. iii. 748: Voght "Catalogus Historico-criticus Librorum rariorum;" p. 231. Francof. 1793: also Jewell's Reply to Harding's Answer; art. 4. div. 19. De Castro attended Philip II. as confessor, when his majesty came into England; and he was afterwards employed in preaching against the taking away of men's lives for religion! See vol. vi. p. 704, of this edition; also Burnet, vol. ii. part 1, A. D. 1555; "Antonio Biblioth. Hispana Nova," vol. i. p. 16; also Numec's History of England, vol. iv. edit. 1792. See the Appendix.—Ed.

(2) This Alphonsus had written a book before, in Latin, against heresies.

Mary. for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe."

A. D. 1555. *Alph.* :—" I am sure you believe Christ's natural body is circumscribable."

*A Span-
ish argu-
ment.* And here he made much ado of the two natures of Christ, how that the one is everywhere, and the other is in his proper place ; demanding such questions as no wise man would have spent any time about. At length, because the friar had forgotten to conclude, Brad-
ford put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded : How that because Christ's body was circumscribable, concerning the human nature in heaven, therefore it was so in the bread.

Brad. :—" How hangeth this together ?¹ Even as if you should say, because you are here, ergo, it must needs follow that you are at Rome. For thus you reason,—Because Christ's body is in heaven, ergo, it is in the sacrament under the form of bread : which no wise man will grant."

Alph. :—" Why ! will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures ?"

Brad. :—" Yes, sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me."

*Christ is
able to do
it : ergo,
hedoth it.* " He is obstinate," quoth Alphonsus to his fellow : and then turning to Brad-
ford, said, " Is not God able to do it ?"

Brad. :—" Yes, but here the question is of God's will, and not of his power."

Alph. :—" Why ! doth he not say plainly, ' This is my body ? ' "

Brad. :—" Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the faith of the worthy receiver."

Alph. :—" To the faith !—how is that ?"

Brad. :—" Forsooth, sir, as I have no tongue to express it ; so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For faith is more than man can utter."

Alph. :—" But I can tell all that I believe."

Brad. :—" You believe not much then ; for if you believe the joys of heaven, and believe no more thereof than you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receivable than the mouth, so it conceiveth more than tongue can express."

*Hoc est
corpus
meum.* *Alph.* :—" Christ saith, it is his body."

Brad. :—" And so say I, after a certain manner."

Alph. :—" After a certain manner ? that is, after another manner than it is in heaven."

Brad. :—" St. Augustine² telleth it more plainly, that it is Christ's body after the same manner as circumcision was the covenant of God, and the sacrament of faith is faith ; or, to make it more plain, as baptism and the water of baptism is regeneration."

Alph. :—" Very well said : baptism and the water thereof is a sacrament of God's grace and Spirit in the water cleansing the baptized."

Brad. :—" No, sir, away with your enclosing : but this I grant, that after the same sort Christ's body is in the bread, on which sort the grace and Spirit of God is in the water."

Alph. :—" In water is God's grace, by signification."

Brad. :—" So is the body in the bread in the sacrament."

*A popish
disting-
tion of sa-
craments.* *Alph.* :—" You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the sacraments that be standers, and the sacraments that are transitory and passers-by. As for example, the sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though St. Augustine affirm it ; it is a stander, although the ceremony be past. But in baptism, so soon as the body is washed, the water ceaseth to be a sacrament."

Brad. :—" Very good ; and so it is in the supper of the Lord : no longer than it is in use, is it Christ's sacrament."

*The friar
in a chafe.* Here was this friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole house rang again, chafing with
om and *cho*. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath

(1) See Appendix.

(2) Augustinus Epistola ad Bonifacium.

little patience; for if Bradford had been any thing hot, one house could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that Bradford could not find in the Scripture baptism and the Lord's supper to bear any similitude together. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying that these men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Brad. :—"Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find baptism and the Lord's supper coupled together."¹

Alph. :—"No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it."

Brad. :—"Paul saith; that as we are baptized into one body, so were we 'potati in uno spiritu,' i.e. 'we have drunk of one spirit,' meaning of the cup in the Lord's supper."

Alph. :—"Paul hath no such words."

Brad. :—"Yes, that he hath."

Confessor. :—"I trow, he hath not."

Brad. :—"Give me a Testament, and I will show you."

So a priest that sat by them gave him his Testament, and he showed them the plain text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the friars found this simple shift, that Paul spake not of the sacrament.

The friar proved a liar in his own testament.

Brad. :—"Well, the text is plain enough, and there are of the fathers which do so understand the place: for Chrysostome doth expound it so."

Alphonsus, who had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the leaves of the book from leaf to leaf, till he came to the place (1 Cor. xi.); and there he read how that he was guilty who made no difference of the Lord's body.

Brad. :—"Yea, but therewith he saith, 'He that eateth of the bread;'² calling it bread still: and that after consecration (as ye call it) as in Cor. x. he saith, 'The bread which we break,' etc."³

Alph. :—"Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things, after their conversion, do retain the same names which they had before, as Moses' rod."

Conversion is mentioned in turning Moses' rod: so it is not in the sacrament.

Here Alphonsus, calling for a Bible, after he had found the place began to triumph: but Bradford cooled him quickly, saying:

Brad. :—"Sir, *there* is mention made of the conversion, as well as that the same appeared to the sense: but *here* ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you."

At these words the friar was troubled, and at length he said, how that Bradford hanged on his own sense.

Brad. :—"No, that do I not; for I will bring you forth the fathers of the church eight hundred years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak."

Alph. :—"No, you have the church against you."

Brad. :—"I have not Christ's church against me."

Alph. :—"Yes, that you have. What is the church?"

Brad. :—"Christ's wife, the chair and seat of verity."

Alph. :—"Is she visible?"

Brad. :—"Yea, that she is to them that will put on the spectacles of God's word to look on her."⁴

Alph. :—"This church nath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good fathers from Christ's ascension, even for eight hundred years at the least continually."

(1) 1 Cor. xii.

(2) 1 Cor. xi.

(3) 1 Cor. x.

(4) The church is visible but to them that have spiritual eyes.

*Mary.**Brad.* :—"What will you so prove? Transubstantiation?"*A. D.**Alph.* :—"Yea, that the bread is turned into Christ's body."

1555.

Brad. :—"You speak more than you can do."*Alph.* :—"That do I not."*Brad.* :—"Then will I give place."*Alph.* :—"Will you believe?"*Brad.* :—"Belief is God's gift; therefore cannot I promise. But I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christ my Saviour."

The papists hold that the act of believing is in man's power.

Here the friar found a great fault with Bradford, that he made no difference betwixt "habitus" and "actus;" as though "actus," which he called credulity, had been in our power. But this he let pass, and came again, asking Bradford, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place? "Yea, that I will." Then called he for paper, pen, and ink, to write; and then said I, "What and if that I prove, by the testimony of the fathers, that continually, for eight hundred years after Christ at the least, they did believe that the substance of bread doth remain in the sacrament—what will ye do?"

Alph. :—"I will give place."*Brad.* :—"Then write you here, that you will give place if I so prove; and I will write that I will give place if you so prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the pre-eminence."

The friar refuseth to abide trial with Bradford.

Here the friar fumed marvellously, and said, "I came not to learn at thee: are not here witnesses? [meaning the two priests] be not they sufficient?" But the man was so chafed, that if Bradford had not passed over this matter of writing, the friar would have fallen to plain scolding. At the length the king's confessor asked Bradford what the second question was?

Brad. :—"That wicked men receive not Christ's body in the sacrament, as St. Augustine speaketh of Judas, that he received 'panem Domini,' but not 'panem Dominum.'"

The friar again proved a liar:

Alph. :—"St. Augustine saith not so."*Brad.* :—"Yes, that doth he."

They depart in a heat.

So they arose and talked no more of that matter. Thus went they away, without bidding Bradford farewell.—After they were gone, one of the priests came, and willed Bradford not to be so obstinate.

Brad. :—"Sir, be not you so wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me, 'non est panis.'"*Priest.* :—"Yes, that I can in five places."*Brad.* :—"Then I will eat your book."

A priest put to a foil.

So the book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way smiling. God help us.

TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND DR. WESTON, AND OTHERS.

It followed after this, upon the 21st of March, that by means of one of the earl of Derby's men, there came to the Compter to dinner one master Collier, once warden of Manchester, and the said servant of the earl of Derby, of whom master Bradford learned that Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster, would be with him in the afternoon about

two of the clock. At dinner time—when the said warden did commend king Edward, and went about to set forth the authority of the pope, which Bradford withstood, defending the king's faith, that it was catholic, and that the authority of the bishop of Rome's supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the testimony of Gregory, which affirmeth the name of supreme head to be a title of the forerunner to antichrist—a woman prisoner was brought in; whereupon the said Bradford took occasion to rise from the table, and so went to his prison-chamber to beg of God grace and help therein, continuing there still until he was called down to speak with master Weston, who was then come in.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

The name
"supreme
head" the
forerun-
ner to
anti-
christ.

Master Bradford then being called down, so soon as he was entered into the hall, master Weston very gently took him by the hand, and asked how he did; with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the chamber: so they all went out, save master Weston himself, master Collier, the earl of Derby's servant, the subdean of Westminster, the keeper, master Claydon, and the parson of the church where the Compter is.

Weston
cometh to
Bradford.

Now then he began with master Bradford, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the earl of Derby: "and," quoth he, "after that I perceived by this man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any others, I could not but come to do you good, if I can; for hurt you be sure I will not."

Confe-
rence be-
tween
them.

"Sir," quoth master Bradford, "when I perceived by the report of my lord's servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I told him then, that therefore I could be better content and more willing to talk with you, if you should come unto me. This did I say," quoth Bradford: "otherwise I desired not your coming."

"Well," quoth Weston; "now I am come to talk with you: but before we shall enter into any talk, certain principles we must agree upon, which shall be this day's work. First," quoth he, "I shall desire you to put away all vain glory,¹ and not hold any thing for the praise of the world."

Brad. :—"Sir, St. Augustine maketh that indeed a piece of the definition of a heretic; which if I cannot put away clean (for I think there will be a spice of it remain in us, as long as this flesh liveth), yet I promise you, by the grace of God, that I purpose not to yield to it. God I hope will never suffer it to bear rule in them that strive there against, and desire all the dregs of it utterly to be driven out of us."

West. :—"I am glad to hear you say so, although indeed I think you do not so much esteem it as others do. Secondly, I would desire you that you will put away singularity in your judgment and opinions."

Brad. :—"Sir, God forbid that I should stick to any singularity or private judgment in God's religion. Hitherto I have not desired it, neither do, nor mind at any time to hold any other doctrine than is public and catholic; understanding catholic as good men do, according to God's word."

West. :—"Very well; this is a good day's work. I hope to do you good; and therefore now, thirdly, I shall pray you to write me 'capita' of those things whereupon you stand in the sacrament, and to send them to me betwixt this and Wednesday next: until which time, yea, until I come to you again, be assured that you are without all peril of death. Of my fidelity, I warrant you; therefore away with all dubitations," etc.

Weston
willeth
Bradford
to write
his faith

Brad. :—"Sir, I will write to you the grounds I lean to in this matter. As for death, if it come, welcome be it: this which you require of me, shall be no great let to me therein."

(1) Weston's lessons are such as he did never follow himself.

Mary. *West.* :—" You know that St. Augustine was a Manichean, yet was he converted at the length ; so have I good hope of you."

A. D. *Brad.* :—" Sir, because I will not flatter you, I would you should flatly
1555. know, that I am even settled in the religion, wherefore I am condemned."

West. :—" Yea, but if it be not the truth, and you see evident matter to the contrary, will you not then give place?"

Brad. :—" God forbid, but that I should always give place to the truth."

West. :—" I would have you to pray so."

Brad. :—" So I do, and that he will more and more confirm me in it; as I thank God he hath done and doth."

West. :—" Yea, but pray with a condition, if you be in it."

Brad. :—" No, sir, I cannot pray so, because I am settled and assured of his truth."

" Well," quoth Weston, " as the learned bishop answered St. Augustine's mother, that though he was obstinate, yet the tears of such a mother could not but win her son : so," quoth he, " I hope your prayers [for then Bradford's eyes did show that he had wept in prayer] cannot but be heard of God, though not as you would, yet as best shall please God. Do ye not," quoth he, " remember the history thereof?"

" Yea sir," quoth Bradford, " I think it be of St. Ambrose."

West. :—" No, that it is not."

And here Weston would have laid a wager, and began to triumph, saying to Bradford, " As you are overseen herein, so are you in other things."

Brad. :—" Well, sir, I will not contend with you for the name. This (I remember) St. Augustine writeth in his Confessions."

Bradford
wrong-
fully
charged
with sedi-
tion.

After this talk Weston began to tell master Bradford, how the people were by him procured to withstand the queen. Whereunto Bradford, answering again, bade him hang him up as a traitor and a thief, if ever he encouraged any to rebellion : which thing his keeper, and others that were there of the priests, affirmed on his behalf : so, much talk there was to little purpose at that time. Dr. Weston declared moreover how he had saved men going in the cart to be hanged, and such like. The end was this, that Bradford should send unto him " capita doctrinæ " of the Supper, and after Wednesday he would come unto him again. And thus departed he, after that he had drunk to him in beer and wine. I omit here talk of Oxford, of books of German writers, of the fear of death, and such other talk, which is to no purpose.

ANOTHER DISPUTATION OR TALK BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND DR. PENDLETON.

In the meantime, when master Bradford had written his reasons and arguments, and had sent them to Dr. Weston, in short space after (about the 28th of March), there came to the Compter Dr. Pendleton, and with him the foresaid master Collier, sometime warden of Manchester, and Stephen Bech. After salutations master Pendleton began to speak to Bradford, that he was sorry for his trouble. " And further," quoth Pendleton, " after that I did know you could be content to talk with me, I made the more speed, being as ready to do thee good, and pleasure thee what I can, as ye would wish."

Bradford :—"Sir, the manner how I was content to speak with you, was on this sort : master Bech was often in hand with me whom he should bring unto me, and named you amongst others ; and I said, that I had rather speak with you, than with any of all the others. Now the cause why I so would, I will briefly tell you. I remember that once you were (as far as a man might judge) of the religion that I am of at this present, and I remember that you have set forth the same earnestly. Gladly therefore would I learn of you what thing it was that moved your conscience to alter, and gladly would I see what thing it is that you have seen since, which you saw not before."

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Pendleton
once of the
same reli-
gion with
Bradford.

Pendleton :—"Master Bradford, I do not know wherefore you are condemned."

Brad. :—"Transubstantiation is the cause wherefore I am condemned, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christ's body : wherein I would desire you to show me what reasons, which before you knew not, did move your conscience now to alter. For once (as I said) you were as I am in religion."

Here master Pendleton, half amazed, began to excuse himself, if it would have been, as though he had not denied fully transubstantiation indeed, "although I said," quoth he, "that the word was not in Scripture;" and so he made an endless tale of the thing that moved him to alter: "but," said he, "I will gather to you the places which moved me, and send you them." And here he desired Bradford, that he might have a copy of that which he had sent to master Weston; the which Bradford did promise him.

Some reasoning also they had,¹ whether evil men did receive Christ's body, Bradford denying, and Pendleton affirming. Bradford said that they received not the spirit: ergo, not the body; for it is no dead carcase. Hereto Bradford brought also St. Augustine,² how Judas received "panem Domini," and not "panem Dominum;" and how that he must be in Christ's body, which must receive the body of Christ. But Pendleton went about to put it away with "idem," and not "ad idem," and how that "in corpore Christi" was to be understood of all that be in the visible church with God's elect. Bradford denied this to be St. Augustine's meaning; and said, also, that the allegation of "idem," and not "ad idem," could not make for that purpose. They talked more of transubstantiation, Pendleton bringing forth Cyprian; "panis natura mutatur," etc. And Bradford said, that in that place "natura" did not signify substance. As the nature of an herb is not the substance of it, so the bread changed in nature is not to be taken for changed in substance; for now it is ordained, not for the food of the body simply, but rather for the soul. Here also Bradford alleged the sentence of Gelasius. Pendleton said, that he was a pope. "Yea," said Bradford, "but his faith is my faith in the sacrament, if ye would receive it."

Evil men
receive
not
Christ's
body.
He must
be in
Christ's
body that
must re-
ceive it.

A place of
St. Cyprian
as ex-
pounded
by Gela-
sius.

They reasoned also whether accidentia were "res," or no. If they be properly "res," said Bradford, then are they substances; and if they be substances they are earthly, and then are there earthly substances in the sacrament, as Irenæus saith, which must needs be bread. But Pendleton said that the colour was the earthly thing; and called it "an accidental substance."

Pendle-
ton driven
to say that
accidents
be sub-
stances.

I omit the talk they had of my lord of Canterbury, of Peter Martyr's book, of Pendleton's letter laid to Bradford's charge when he

(1) Pendleton, helike, would study out the reasons that moved him to alter: for he had none ready to show.

(2) In Joh. Evang. tract. 59, §. 1.—Ed.

Mary. was condemned, with other talk more of the church; whether "dic ecclesiæ" was spoken of the universal church, or of a particular (which Pendleton at the length granted to be spoken of a particular church): also of vain glory, which he willed Bradford to beware of; and such like talk. A little before his departing Bradford said thus, "Master doctor, as I said to master Weston the last day, so say I unto you again, that I am the same man in religion against transubstantiation still, which I was when I came into prison; for hitherto I have seen nothing in any point to infirm me." At which words Pendleton was something moved, and said that it was no catholic doctrine. "Yes," quoth Bradford, "and that will I prove even by the testimony of the catholic fathers until the Council of Lateran, or thereabouts." Thus Pendleton went his way, saying, that he would come oftener to Bradford.—God our Father be with us all, and give us the spirit of his truth for ever. Amen.

Bradford could hear no reason of the papists to infirm his opinion against transubstantiation.

The same day in the afternoon, about five of the clock, came master Weston to Bradford; and after gentle salutations, he desired the company every man to depart; and so they two sat down. And after that he had thanked Bradford for his writing unto him, he pulled out of his bosom the same writing which Bradford had sent him. The writing is this that followeth.

Certain Reasons against Transubstantiation, gathered by John Bradford, and given to Dr. Weston and others.

Transubstantiation brought in.

That which is former (saith Tertullian) is true; that which is later is false. But the doctrine of transubstantiation is a late doctrine: for it was not defined generally afore the Council of Lateran, about 1215 years after Christ's coming, under pope Innocent the third of that name. For before that time it was free for all men to believe it, or not believe it, as the bishop of Durham¹ doth witness in his book of the Presence of Christ in his Supper lately put forth: ergo, the doctrine of transubstantiation is false.

The reasons proving the words of the Lord's Supper to be figurative.

2. That the words of Christ's Supper be figurative, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy or proportion of the sacraments, and the sentences of all the holy fathers, which were and did write for the space of 1000 years after Christ's ascension, do teach. Whereupon it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation.

3. That the Lord gave to his disciples bread, and called it his body, the very Scriptures do witness. For he gave that, and called it his body, which he took in his hands, whereon he gave thanks; which also he brake, and gave to his disciples, that is to say, bread; as the fathers Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and all the residue which are of antiquity, do affirm. But inasmuch as the substance of bread and wine is another thing than the substance of the body and blood of Christ, it plainly appeareth that there is no transubstantiation.

The wine is not transubstantiated; ergo, neither the bread.

4. The bread is no more transubstantiated than the wine: but that the wine is not transubstantiated, St. Matthew and St. Mark do teach us: for they witness, that Christ said that he would drink no more of the fruit of the vine, which was not blood, but wine: and therefore it followeth, that there is no transubstantiation. Chrysostome upon Matthew, and St. Cyprian, do affirm this reason.

5. As the bread in the Lord's Supper is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body: for the same Spirit that spake of it, "This is my body," did say also, "For we many are one bread, one body," etc. But now it is not the mystical body by transubstantiation, and therefore it is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

(1) De Veritate Corp. et Sang. Christi, in Eucharistiâ; Auct. C. Tonstallo; 4to. Lutet, 1554. lib. i. p. 46; according to Featley's Supplement to "A Case for the Spectacles, or a Defence of 'Via Tuta,'" by Sir H. Lynde. Lond. 1638, page 39.—Ed

6. The words spoken over the cup in St. Luke and St. Paul, are not so mighty and effectual as to transubstantiate it: for then it, or that which is in it, should be transubstantiated into the New Testament. Therefore the words spoken over the bread, are not so mighty as to make transubstantiation.

7. All that doctrine which agreeth with those churches which be apostolic mother churches, or original churches, is to be counted for truth, in that it holdeth that which these churches received of the apostles, the apostles of Christ, Christ of God. But it is manifest, that the doctrine taught at this present of the church of Rome, concerning transubstantiation, doth not agree with the apostolic and mother churches in Greece, of Corinth, of Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, Ephesus, which never taught transubstantiation; yea it agreeth not with the doctrine of the church of Rome taught in time past. For Gelasius the pope, setting forth the doctrine which that see did then hold, doth manifestly confute the error of transubstantiation, and reproveth them of sacrilege, which divide the mystery, and keep from the laity the cup. Therefore the doctrine of transubstantiation agreeth not with the truth.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The doctrine of the church of Rome agreeth not with the Greek, nor with the old Roman church.

This was the writing which Weston pulled out of his bosom: and yet, before he began to read it, he showed Bradford that he asked of his conversation at Cambridge since his last being with him; "and," quoth he, "master Bradford, because you are a man not given to the glory of the world, I will speak it before your face: your life I have learned was such there always, as all men, even the greatest enemies you have, cannot but praise it; and therefore I love you much better than ever I did: but now I will read over your arguments, and so we will confer them. Such they are, that a man may well perceive you stand on conscience, and therefore I am the more ready and glad to pity you." So he began to read the first; to the which he said, that though the word transubstantiation began but lately, yet the thing always was, and hath been since Christ's institution.

Brad. :—"I do not contend, or hang upon the *word* only, but upon the *thing*, which is as new as the word."

Then went Weston to the second, and there brought out St. Augustine, how that if an evil man, going to the devil, did make his will, his son and heir would not say his father did lie in it, or speak tropically: much more Christ, going to God, did never lie, or use any figurative speech in his last will and testament. "Do you not remember this place of St. Augustine," said he?

The words of Austin guilefully wrested by Weston.

Brad. :—"Yes, sir, but I remember not that St. Augustine hath those words 'tropice' or 'figurative,' as you rehearse them: for any man may speak a thing figuratively, and lie not: and so Christ did in his last supper."

After this Weston went to the third, and brought forth Cyprian, how that the nature of bread is turned into flesh. "Here," saith he, "my lord of Canterbury expoundeth 'nature' for 'quality,' by Gelasius. The which interpretation serveth for the answer of your third argument, that Christ called bread his body: that is, the quality, form, and appearance of bread. And further the Scripture is wont to call things by the same names which they had before, as Simon the leper;¹ he was not so presently, but because he had been so."

Brad. :—"Cyprian wrote before Gelasius: therefore Cyprian must not expound Gelasius, but Gelasius Cyprian: and so they both teach, that bread remaineth still. As for things having still the names they had, it is no answer,

(1) Simon, though he were called the leper, yet he was seen to be no leper; but bread is seen still to be bread; and therefore hath its name not of that it was, but of that it is.

Mary. except you could show that this now were not bread, as easily as a man might have known and seen then Simon to have been healed and clear from his leprosy.”

A. D.
1555.

After this, Weston went to the fourth, of the cup, the which he did not fully read, but digressed into a long talk of Cyprian's epistle “De Aquariis:”¹ also of St. Augustine; expounding the breaking of bread by Christ to his two disciples going to Emmaus, to be the sacrament, with such other talk to no certain purpose: and therefore Bradford prayed him, that inasmuch as he had written the reasons that stablished his faith against transubstantiation, so he would likewise do to him, that is, answer him by writing, and show him more reasons in writing to confirm transubstantiation; which Dr. Weston promised to do, and said that he would send or bring it to master Bradford again within three days.

Weston
required
to write
his rea-
sons.

Thus, when he had over-read the arguments, and here and there spoken little to the purpose for the avoiding of them, and Bradford had prayed him to give him in writing his answers, then he began to tell Bradford how and what he had done for Grimoald, and how that Bradford needed not to fear any reproach or slander he should suffer: meaning belike to have Bradford secretly to come to them, as Grimoald did; for he subscribed.

Grimoald
subscrib-
ed.

Bradford
plain and
firm in
confes-
sion of the
truth.

Brad.—“Master Dean, I would not gladly that you should conceive of me that I pass of shame of men simply in this matter: I rather would have you to think of me, as the very truth is, that hitherto as I have not heard or seen any thing to infirm my faith against transubstantiation, so I am no less settled in it, than I was at my first coming hither. I love to be plain with you, and to tell you at the first, as you shall find at the last.”

West.—“In good faith, master Bradford, I love you the better for your plainness; and do not think otherwise of me, but that you shall find me plain in all my talk with you.”

Here Weston began to ask Bradford of his imprisonment and condemnation: and so Bradford told him altogether, how he had been handled; whereat Weston seemed to wonder: yea in plain words he said, that Bradford had been handled otherwise than he had given cause; and so showed Bradford how that my lord of Bath reported that he had deserved a benefit at the queen's hand, and at all the council. In this kind of talk they spent an hour almost, and so, as one weary, Bradford rose up, and Weston called to the keeper, and before him he bade Bradford be of good comfort, and said that he was out of all peril of death. “Sir,” quoth the keeper, “but it is in every man's mouth, that he shall die to-morrow.” Whereat Weston seemed half amazed, and said, he would go say evensong before the queen, and speak to her in his behalf. But it is to be thought that the queen had almost supped at that present; for it was past six of the clock.

The vain
promise of
Weston.

Before the keeper, Bradford told Weston again that still he was one man, and even as he was at the first; and till he should see matter to teach his conscience the contrary, he said he must needs so continue. The keeper desired Bradford to hearken to master doctor's counsel, and prayed master doctor to be good unto him: and so after they had drunk together, master doctor with most gentle words took his leave for three days.

(1) Epist. 63, p. 148. Edit. Oxon. See Dupin, third century.—Ed.

Now when he was gone, the keeper told Bradford, that master doctor spake openly, how that he saw no cause why they should burn him : which sentence, for the ambiguity of the meaning, made him somewhat sorry, lest he had behaved himself in any thing, wherein he had gathered any conformableness to them in their doctrine, "which, God knoweth," saith Bradford, "I never as yet did." God our Father bless us, as his children, and keep us from all evil for ever. Amen.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

ANOTHER TALK OR CONFERENCE BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD
AND DOCTOR WESTON.

On the 5th day of April came master doctor Weston to the Compter, about two of the clock in the afternoon, who excused himself for being so long absent ; partly by sickness, partly for that Dr. Pendleton told him that he would come unto him ; " and partly for that," quoth he, "I withstood certain monks, which would have come again into Westminster;" telling him, moreover, how that the pope was dead. And also declared unto him, how he had spoken to the queen in his behalf, and how that death was not near to him. Last of all Weston excused himself for not answering his arguments against transubstantiation ; "because my coming to-day," quoth he, "was more by fortune, than of purpose."

Weston
with-
standeth
the
monks
coming
into West-
minster.

Brad. :—"I would gladly, master doctor, if it please you, see your answers to my arguments."

Weston :—"Why? you have remembered something that I spake to you, when I was last with you."

Brad. :—"No, sir, I never called them in manner to mind, since that time, as well because I hoped you would have written them ; as also for that they seemed not to be so material."

Weston :—"In good faith I cannot see any other or better way for you, than for to submit yourself to the judgment of the church."

Brad. :—"Marry so will I sir, if so be by the church you understand Christ's church."

Weston :—"Lo, you take upon you to judge the church."

Brad. :—"No, sir, that I do not ; in taking upon me to discern, I do not judge the church."

Weston :—"Yes, that you do ; and make it invisible."

Brad. :—"I do neither."

Weston :—"Why, who can see your church?"

Brad. :—"Those, sir, that have spiritual eyes, wherewith they might have discerned Christ's visible conversation here upon earth."

Weston :—"Nay, Christ's church hath three tokens, that all men may look well upon ; namely, unity, antiquity, and consent."

Brad. :—"These three may be as well in evil as in good ; as well in sin as in virtue ; as well in the devil's church, as in God's church—as for an example ; idolatry amongst the Israelites had all those three. Chrysostome telleth plainly, as you well know, that the church is well known. 'tantummodo per Scripturas,' 'alonly by the Scriptures.'" [Opus Imperf. hom. 49. p. 946.]

Weston :—"In good faith, you make your church invisible, when you will have it known alonly by the Scriptures."

Brad. :—"No, sir, the Scriptures do plainly set forth to us the church, that all men may well enough thereby know her, if they list to look."

Weston :—"The church is like a tower or town upon a hill, that all men may see."

Brad. :—"True, sir, all men that be not blind. Visible enough is the church, but men's blindness is great. Impute not therefore to the church, that which is to be imputed to men's blindness."

Weston :—"Where was your church forty years ago, or where is it now except in a corner of Germany?"

Mary. Brad. :—" Forsooth, sir, the church of God is dispersed, and not tied to this or that place, but to the word of God; so that where it is, there is God's church, if it be truly taught."

A. D. 1555. West. :—" Lo, is not this to make the church invisible? Point me out a realm a hundred years past, which maintained your doctrine."

The church is not always to be pointed out by realms and countries. Brad. :—" Sir, if you will, or would well mark the state of the church before Christ's coming, with it now (as St. Paul and Peter willeth us), I think you would not look for such shows of the church to be made, as to point it by realms. You know that in Elias's time, both in Israel and elsewhere, God's church was not pointable; and therefore cried he out, that he was left alone."

West. :—" No, marry; did not God say that there were seven thousand which had not bowed their knees to Baal? Lo then seven thousand. Show me seven thousand a hundred years ago of your religion."

God saved the church in Elias's time, although Elias himself did not see it; and so is it known. Brad. :—" Sir, these seven thousand were not known to men: for then Elias would not have said, that he had been before left alone. And it is plain enough, by that which the text hath, namely that God saith, 'reliqui mihi,' 'I have reserved to me seven thousand.' Mark that it saith, God hath reserved to himself, to his own knowledge; as I doubt not but a hundred years ago, God had his seven thousand in his proper places, though men knew not thereof."

West. :—" Well, master Bradford, I will not make your case worse than for substantiation: although I know that we agree not in other matters. And I pray you make you it yourself not worse. If I can do you good, I will: hurt you I will not. I am no prince, and therefore I cannot promise you life, except you will submit yourself to the definition of the church."

See Appendix. Brad. :—" Sir, so that you will define me your church, that under it you bring not in a false church, you shall not see but that we shall soon be at a point."

West. :—" In good faith, master Bradford, I see no good will be done; and therefore I will wish you as much good as I can, and hereafter I will perchance come or send to you again."

And so he sent for master Weal, and departed.—Now after his departing, came the keeper, master Claydon, and Stephen Bech; and they were very hot with Bradford, and spake with him in such sort that he should not look but to have them utter enemies unto him, notwithstanding the friendship they both had hitherto pretended. God be with us, and what matter is it who be against us?

Among divers which came to master Bradford in prison, some to dispute and confer, some to give counsel, some to take comfort, and some to visit him, there was a certain gentlewoman's¹ servant, which gentlewoman had been cruelly afflicted, and miserably handled by her father and mother and all her kindred, in her father's house, for not coming to the mass, and like at length to have been pursued to death, had not the Lord delivered her out of her father's house, being put from all that ever she had. This gentlewoman's servant, therefore, being sent to master Bradford with commendations, had this talk with him, which I thought here not to over-slip.

A COLLOQUY BETWEEN MASTER BRADFORD AND A GENTLEWOMAN'S SERVANT, BEING SENT TO VISIT HIM IN PRISON.

'This servant or messenger of the foresaid gentlewoman, coming to master Bradford, and taking him by the hand, said, "God be thanked for you: how do you do?"

Master Bradford answered, "Well; I thank God. For as men in sailing, which be near to the shore or haven where they would be, would be nearer; even so the nearer I am to God, the nearer I would be."

(1) This gentlewoman is yet alive, to whom Bradford wrote a letter which hereafter followeth.

Servant :—" Sir, I have never seen you so strong and healthsome of body, as me thinketh you be now, God be thanked for it." *Mary.*

" Why," quoth Bradford, " I have given over all care and study, and only do I covet to be talking with him, whom I have always studied to be withal." A. D.
1555.

Serv. :—" Well, God hath done much for you since the time that I first knew you, and hath wrought wondrously in you to his glory."

Brad. :—" Truth it is; for he hath dealt favourably with me, in that he hath not punished me according to my sins, but hath suffered me to live, that I might seek repentance."

Serv. :—" Truly, we hear say, there is a rod made so grievous, out of the which I think no man shall pluck his head."

Brad. :—" Well, let all that be of Christ's flock, arm themselves to suffer : for I think verily, God will not have one of his to escape untouched, if he love him ; let them seek what means or ways they can."

Serv. :—" Well, sir, there goeth a talk of a friar¹ that should preach before the king, and should tell him, that he should be guilty of the innocent blood that hath been shed of late." *See
Appendix.*

" Verily," quoth Bradford, " I had a book² within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith, that it is not meet nor convenient that the heretics should live; and therefore I do marvel how that talk should rise : for I have heard of it also, and I have also talked with this friar (he is named friar Fonso)³ and with divers other; and I praise God they have confirmed me : for they have nothing to say but that which is most vain."

Serv. :—" Sir, father Cardmaker hath him commended unto you."

Brad. :—" How doth he? how doth he?"

Serv. :—" Well, God be thanked."

Brad. :—" I am very glad thereof : for indeed my lord chancellor did cast him in my teeth; but, as David saith, ' God hath disappointed him.'"

Serv. :—" Forsooth (God's name be praised) he is very strong."

Brad. :—" And, I trust, so are we. What else? our quarrel is most just : therefore let us not be afraid."

Serv. :—" My mistress hath her recommended unto you."

Brad. :—" How doth she?"

Serv. :—" Well, God be praised, but she hath been sorer afflicted with her own father and mother, than ever you were with your imprisonment, and yet God hath preserved her, I trust, to his glory."

Brad. :—" I pray you tell her, I read this day a goodly history, written by Basil the Great, of a virtuous woman which was a widow, and was named Julitta.⁴ She had great lands and many children, and nigh her dwelled a cormorant, which, for her virtuousness and godly living, had great indignation at her; and of very malice he took away her lands, so that she was constrained to go to the law with him. And, in conclusion, the matter came to the trial before the judge, who demanded of this tyrant why he wrongfully withheld these lands from this woman? He made answer and said, he might so do : ' for,' saith he, ' this woman is disobedient to the king's proceedings; for she will in no wise worship his gods, nor offer sacrifice unto them.' Then the judge, hearing that, said unto her, ' Woman, if this be true, thou art not only like to lose thy land, but also thy life, unless that thou worship our gods, and do sacrifice unto them.' This godly woman, hearing that, stept forth to the judge, and said, ' Is there no remedy but either to worship your false gods, or else to lose my lands and life? Then farewell suit, farewell lands, farewell children, farewell friends; yea, and farewell life too : and, in respect of the true honour of the ever living God, farewell all.' And with that saying did the judge commit her to prison, and afterward she suffered most cruel death. And being brought to the place of execution, she exhorted all women to be strong and constant : ' for,' saith she, ' ye were redeemed with as dear a price as men. For although ye were made of the rib of the man, yet be you all of his flesh : so that also, in the case and

A story of a faithful woman and martyr in the primitive church called Julitta.

(1) By this friar he meaneth Alphonsus mentioned before.

(2) " A book," etc. " De justa hæreticorum punitione, libri tres;" fol. Salmanticae, 1547; Lugduni, 1556; Antverpiæ, 1568. The object of this work, in the language of Antonio, is " ut confirmaret justas esse omnes illas pœnas, quibus in jure civili atque canonico hæretici adduntur."—Ed.

(3) Alphonsus, otherwise called, in the vulgar speech, friar Fons.

(4) See Tillemont's "Memoires à l'Hist. Ecclesiastique." Tom. v. Part I. pp. 274, 414, Edit. 12mo. 1707.—Ed.

Mary.

trial of your faith towards God, ye ought to be as strong.' And thus died she constantly, not fearing death. I pray you tell your mistress of this history."

A.D.
1555.

Serv. :—"That shall I, sir, by God's grace: for she told me that she was with you and master Saunders, and received your gentle counsel."

Bradford
nothing
afraid of
death.

Brad. :—"We never gave her other counsel but the truth; and in witness thereof, we have and will seal it with our bloods. For I thought this night that I had been sent for, because at eleven of the clock there was such rapping at the door."

Then answered a maid, and said, "Why then I perceive you were afraid."

Brad. :—"Ye shall hear how fearful I was; for I considered that I had not slept, and I thought to take a nap before I went: and after I was asleep, these men came into the next chamber, and sang, as it was told me; and yet, for all my fearfulness, I heard them not: therefore belike I was not afraid, that slept so fast."

Serv. :—"Do you lack any thing towards your necessity?"

Brad. :—"Nothing but your prayers; and I trust I have them, and you mine."

Serv. :—"I saw a priest come to you to-day in the morning."

Brad. :—"Yea, he brought me a letter from a friar, and I am writing an answer."

Serv. :—"Then we let you; therefore the living God be with you."

Brad. :—"And with you also, and bless you."

"Amen," said we; and gave him thanks and departed.

Bradford
had from
the
Compter
to New-
gate by
night.

Thus still in prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter where he was prisoner, in the night season, to Newgate, as afore is declared; and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield, where he, constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent, and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young springal of nineteen or twenty years old, which was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

John Leaf, burnt with Bradford.

John Leaf
by the al-
derman
of the
ward
commit-
ted to
prison.

With John Bradford was burnt one John Leaf, an apprentice to Humfrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ-Church in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirby-Moorside, in the county of York: who, upon the Friday next before Palm Sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that ward, or part of the city, where the said Leaf did dwell. After, he, coming to examination before Bonner, gave a firm and christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

John Leaf
examined
before
Bonner
concern-
ing his
faith in
the sacra-
ment.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is now called, used, and believed in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable; and also said further, that he believed, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest over the material bread and wine, there is not the selfsame substance of Christ's body and blood

there contained; but bread and wine, as it was before: and further said, that he believed, that when the priest delivereth the said material bread and wine to the communicants, he delivereth but only material bread and wine;¹ and the communicants do receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and spiritually, in faith, they receive Christ's body and blood, but not under the forms of bread and wine: and also affirmed, that he believed auricular confession not to be necessary to be made unto a priest; for it is no point of soul-health—neither that the priest hath any authority given him by the Scripture to absolve and remit any sin.²

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Auricular
confes-
sion.

Upon these his answers, and testimony of his faith, he, at that time being dismissed, was bid the Monday next, being the 10th of June, to appear again in the said place, there and then to hear the sentence of his condemnation; who so did: at what time the foresaid bishop, propounding the said articles again to him, as before, essaying by all manner of ways to revoke him to his own trade, that is, from truth to error, notwithstanding all his persuasions, threats, and promises, found him the same man still, so planted upon the sure rock of truth, that no words nor deeds of men could remove him.

Then the bishop, after many words to and fro, at last asked him, if he had been master Rogers's scholar? To whom the foresaid John Leaf answered again, granting him so to be, and that he the same John did believe in the doctrine of the said Rogers, and in the doctrine of bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, and others of their opinion, who of late were burned for the testimony of Christ, and that he would die in that doctrine that they died for: and after other replications again of the bishop, moving him to return to the unity of the church, he, with a great courage of spirit, answered again in these words: "My lord," quoth he, "you call mine opinion heresy: it is the true light of the word of God." And again, repeating the same, he professed that he would never forsake his staid and well grounded opinion, while the breath should be in his body. Whereupon the bishop, being too weak either to refute his sentence or to remove his constancy, proceeded consequently to read the popish sentence of cruel condemnation: whereby this godly and constant young man, being committed to the secular power of the sheriffs there present, was then adjudged, and not long after suffered the same day with master Bradford, confirming with his death, that which he had spoken and professed in his life.

Leaf,
master
Rogers's
scholar.Sentence
against
Leaf.

It is reported of the said John Leaf, by one that was in the Compter the same time, and saw the thing, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent unto him in the Compter in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him (because he could not read nor write himself), that he refused. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, instead of a pen he took a pin. and so pricking his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, willing the reader thereof to show the bishop, that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

John Leaf
sealeth
the bill of
his con-
fessions
with his
blood.

(1) Only as touching the substance, but not as concerning the effect thereof

(2) He meaneth after the popish manner of remitting, etc.

Mary.

A.D. 1555 THE BEHAVIOUR OF MASTER BRADFORD, PREACHER, AND OF THE YOUNG MAN THAT SUFFERED WITH HIM IN SMITHFIELD, NAMED JOHN LEAF, A PRENTICE, WHO BOTH SUFFERED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST.

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, master Bradford, lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man John Leaf on the other side, they lay flat on their faces, praying to themselves the space of a minute of an hour. Then one of the sheriffs said to master Bradford, "Arise, and make an end; for the press of the people is great."

At that word they both stood up upon their feet, and then master Bradford took a faggot in his hand, and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment; "for," said he, "I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith master Bradford did put off his raiment, and went to the stake: and, holding up his hands, and casting his countenance up to heaven, he said thus, "O England, England, repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins. Beware of idolatry, beware of false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you." And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. "O master sheriff," said master Bradford, "I am quiet: God forgive you this, master sheriff." And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing master Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, "If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace." To the which words master Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him; and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, "Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night:" and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but, embracing the reeds, said thus; "Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it."

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the price of the game that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Touching master Woodrofe the sheriff, mention is made a little before how churlishly here he answered master Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, etc. The like extremity or worse, he used also before to master Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The said Woodrofe sheriff, above mentioned, was joined in office with another, called sir William Chester, for the year 1555. Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgment and religion, that the one (that is, master Woodrofe) was wont commonly to laugh, the other to shed tears, at the death of Christ's people.

The words of Bradford to England.

The saying of Bradford at his death.

Difference between two sheriffs.

And whereas the other was wont to restrain, and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned: the other sheriff, contrariwise again, with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself, which I wish here to be spoken and known to the commendation of him, although I do not greatly know the party.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of God's hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel persecutors, so it happened, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was so stricken on the right side, with such a palsy or stroke of God's hand (whatsoever it was), that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himself in his bed, but as two men with a sheet were fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.¹

In Mortem Johannis Bradfordi constantissimi Martyris, per
Joan Frieum.

Discipulo nulli supra licet esse magistrum;
Quique Deo servit, tristia multa feret.
Corripit omnipotens natum quem diligit omnem;
Ad cœlum stricta est difficilisque via.
Has, Bradforde, tuo dum condis pectore voces,
Non hominum rigidas terribilesque minas,
Sed nec blanditias, non vim, nec vincula curas,
Tradis et accensæ membra cremanda pyræ.²

Lines in Memory of John Bradford, Martyr.

•Lament ³ we may both day and night For this our brother dear; Bradford, a man, both just and right, There was but few his peer.	But he, for all that they could say, Would not his God displease; But trusted, at the judgment day, His joy would then increase.
For God's true servant he was known In every city and town; His word amongst them he hath sown Till it was trodden down.	And where they punished him there— Full well he did it take: [fore, He thought no pains could be too sore To suffer for Christ's sake.
There was no man could him appeach Neither in word nor deed; But that he lived as he did teach, In fear of God and dread.	Alas! the people did lament, When that they did hear tell That he in Smithfield should be brent, No more with us to dwell.
Since that the time he did profess God's holy word most true, No riches, substance more or less, Could turn his heart anew.	His preaching was both true and good, His countenance meek and mild; Alas! the shedding of his blood Pleas'd neither man nor child:
From God's true word he would not Though it was to his pain; [slide, But in the truth he did abide, All men might know it plain.	Save only they, which had the law At that time in their hand; Which still desire more in to draw, And catch them in their band.
The wicked men, they did him take, And promise him much store, To cause him this his God forsake, And preach the truth no more.	O wicked men of little grace! Was ever the like seen— So many men, in such a space, To death consumed clean?

(1) In the First Edition this calamity is thus recorded; "In fine, this foresaid master Woodrofe, after the burning of master Bradford, returning home to his house, strait upon the same was taken lame both arm and leg, so that this day he cannot stir out of his house, nor yet scarce move himself but as he is helped. The Lord, if it be his pleasure, be his helper!" See Edition 1563, p. 1215.—ED.

(2) See the Harleian MSS. No. 416. Art. 27.—ED.

(3) See Edition, 1563, page 1216.—ED.

Marg. How many of you papists all
Would not with speed return
A. D. From your doctrine papistical,
1555. If that you knew to burn !

And where you would not give him
His mind forth for to break ; [leave
All men of God will him believe,
Though little he did speak.

In going to the burning fire,
He talked all the way :
The people then he did desire
For him that they would pray.

And when he came unto the place
Whereas then he should die,
Full meek the fire he did embrace,
And said : " Welcome to me."

A servant true of God, I say,
With him that time did burn ;
Because in God's word he did stay,
Not willing to return.

But quietly were both content
Their death to take truly ;
Which made the people's hearts to
Their deathful pangs to see.* [rent

The Letters of Master Bradford.

This godly Bradford and heavenly martyr, during the time of his imprisonment, wrote sundry comfortable treatises, and many godly letters ; of which, some he wrote to the city of London, Cambridge, Walden, Lancashire, and Cheshire, and divers to his other private friends. By the which foresaid letters, to the intent it may appear how godly this man occupied his time being prisoner, what special zeal he bare to the state of Christ's church, what care he had to perform his office, how earnestly he admonished all men, how tenderly he comforted the heavy-hearted, how faithfully he confirmed those whom he had taught, I thought here good to place the same : and although to exhibit here all the letters that he wrote (being in number so many, that they are able to fill a book) it cannot well be compassed, yet, nevertheless, we mind to excerpt the principal of them ; referring the reader for the residue to the book of " Letters of the Martyrs,"¹ where they may be found.

Read the
book of
Letters of
the Mar-
tyrs.

Brad-
ford's let-
ters com-
plained of
in parlia-
ment.

And first, forasmuch as ye heard in the story before, how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house, of certain letters written of John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire, and also how he was charged both of the bishop of Winchester, and of master Allen with the same letters ; to the intent the reader more perfectly may understand what letters they were, being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation, we will begin first with the same letters ; the copy, with the contents whereof, is this, as followeth.

A comfortable Letter of Master Bradford to his Mother, a godly Matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his Brethren and Sisters, and other of his Friends there.

Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ—whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name there-for) I am—preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my father, John Treves, Thomas Sorrold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, etc., now and for ever. Amen.

I am at this present in prison (sure enough for starting), to confirm that I have preached unto you : as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God, to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do : I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory ; as Paul saith, " If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him."² Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven :

(1) This book was printed in London by John Day in 1564, and reprinted there in 1837.—*Ed.*

(2) 2 Tim. ii.

for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.¹ Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleansed from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious: so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely, great plagues of God hang over this realm.

Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living, and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God therefore now is come, as you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us—as me for my carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it, by God's grace: but because I lived not the gospel truly, but outwardly, therefore doth he thus punish me; nay rather in punishing blesseth me. And indeed I thank him more of this prison, than of any parlour, yea, than of any pleasure that ever I had: for in it I find God my most sweet good God always. The flesh is punished, first to admonish us now heartily to live as we profess; secondly to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war: "The world," saith he, "shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep; but your weeping shall be turned into joy." And therefore "happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted."² They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the beast's mark—I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now, with his shavelings, rejoice:³ but woe unto them, for they shall be cast down; they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow; but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whore-monger joy with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind buzzard sir John: for the mass will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will,—come devils to the church, and go devils home—for no man must find fault: and they are glad of this. Now they have their heart's desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone. But what followed! Forsooth when they cried, "Peace; all shall be well!" then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child: even so, dear mother, will it do to our papists.

Wherefore fear God; stick to his word though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once; and when, or how, can you not tell. Die therefore with Christ; suffer for serving him truly and after his word: for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying: we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for, by God's grace, I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.God be-
ginne-
th his
judg-
ment
with
his
own
house.Com-
plaint
of the
carnal
and
wick-
ed
life
among
gospel-
lers.Why God
first
punisheth
his, in
this
world.God
useth
to
prove
and
try
his
children.The mass
rebuketh
no sin,
nor sham-
eth con-
sciences,
as preach-
ing doth.The best
death of
all deaths,
is to die
for God's
sake.

(1) Acts xiv.

(2) John xix.

(3) Of this place the earl of Derby seemeth to take hold, complaining that he curseth them that teach any false doctrine, etc.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

I doubt not but God will give me his grace, and strengthen me thereunto : pray that he would, and that I refuse it not. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure (I trust in God), shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me ; then did you believe me : and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust by God's grace, if need be, to verify with my life ? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

The mass
is a poi-
son to the
church.

It is God's truth I have taught : it is that same infallible word whereof he said, "Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass." The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God, and enemies of Christ's cross (the papists I say) have brought in again, to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may be he which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it ! Come not at it. If God be God, follow him : if the mass be God, let them that will, see it, hear, or be present at it, and go to the devil with it. What is there as God ordained ? His Supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, that his body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins : but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, "Take, eat." No, saith the priest, "Gape, peep." There is a sacrificing, yea killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine. There is all in Latin : you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore, my good mother, come not at it.

Compari-
son be-
tween the
Lord's
Supper
and the
mass.

Doubts
and ob-
jections
answered.

"Oh," will some say, "it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as other do." But God will further you (be you assured), as you shall one day find ; who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and, in the world to come, life everlasting.¹

You shall be counted a heretic : but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise.

You are not able to reason against the priests, but God will that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so but you only. Indeed no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you (I doubt not) father Traves, and other my brothers and sisters to go with you therein : but, if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you. Pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad,² but into father Traves' hands : for, if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name's sake, to give my life for his gospel and church' sake.—Out of the Tower of London, the 6th day of October, 1553.

My name I write not for causes, you know it well enough : like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel ; but rather, if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls.

After the time that master Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his adversaries (as ye heard before) that he should be had to Manchester, where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last "vale" of them in this letter.

A Fruitful Letter to the City of London.

To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of

(1) Matt. xix.

(2) For all this caveat, yet this letter came to the earl of Derby's knowledge.

the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the Father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and omni-sufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ! although the time I have to live is very little (for hourly I look when I should be had hence, to be conveyed into Lancashire, there to be burned, and to render my life, by the providence of God, where I first received it by the same providence), and although the charge is great to keep me from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state: yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, maugre the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto join a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

First, for my faith, I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God (for faith is God's only gift), all the twelve articles of the symbol or Creed, commonly attributed to the collection of the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I write, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the Creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, left and contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto; and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation ought to be burdened with any other doctrine, than what, hereout, hath its foundation and ground. In testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his catholic and universal church here or elsewhere upon earth; as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, and Christ's real, corporal, and carnal presence in his supper, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine.

Anti-christ of Rome not to be Christ's vicar general. Transubstantiation a doctrine of idolatry.

To believe Christ our Saviour to be the head of his church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ (which the sacrament of the altar, as the papists call it, and use it, doth utterly overthrow) is a true and very presence of whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver, but not to the stander-by and looker-upon, as it is a true and very presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as a heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause, as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

It quite overthroweth the Lord's Supper. Christ wholly present to the faith of the receiver.

For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more than my former sinful life, which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness (praised therefore be his holy name): although, I say, my manifold and grievous late sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf: yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, to testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to repugn his adversaries. O good God and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein!

God punisheth his people for one thing, but men persecute them for another.

Bradford sorry that he doth not more rejoice, dying in so good a quarrel.

And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily, in his bowels and blood, do now (for my last "vale" and farewell in this present life), beseech you, and every of you, that you will consider this work of

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

A lesson
against
carnal
security.
The
gospel a
new doc-
trine to
the old
man.
Christian
profession
requireth
christian
conversa-
tion.

Faith
would be
coupled
ever
with a
good con-
science.

He ex-
horteth to
repent-
ance.

Our sins
provoke
persecu-
tion.

He ex-
horteth to
pray, and
how to
pray with
repent-
ance.

Obedi-
ence to
magi-
strates in
all that is
not
against
God's
word.
Patience.

the Lord accordingly. First, by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security: profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity: frame and fashion your lives accordingly: beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine; and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more great hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections: if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments and be holy: if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross, and follow Christ. We cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek also for the righteousness thereof. To this petition, "Let thy kingdom come," we must join, "Thy will be done," done "on earth as it is in heaven." If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we sore deceive ourselves: if we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth; if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our heart, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent, and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously, professed the gospel. For all these I confess myself, to the glory of God, that he may cover mine offences in the day of judgment. Let the anger and plagues of God (most justly fallen upon us) be applied to every one of our deserts; that, from the bottom of our hearts, every of us may say, "It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee: it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking-away of our good king; of thy word and true religion; of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us! Turn to us again, O Lord of hosts, and turn us unto thee: correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger: chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure: reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy! For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? but with thee is mercifulness, that thou mightest be worshipped. O then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee! Help us, for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great. O heal us and help us, for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, 'Where is their God?' etc."

On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins; repent us of our former evil life; heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things; continually watch in prayer; diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy Scriptures; labour after our vocation to amend our brethren. Let us reprove the works of darkness: let us fly from all idolatry: let us abhor the antichristian and Romish rotten service; detest the popish mass; abrenounce their Romish god; prepare ourselves to the cross; be obedient to all that are in authority in all things that be not against God and his word,—for then, answer with the apostles, "It is more meet to obey God than man." Howbeit, never for any thing resist, or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth; and he, in his time, will reward it. If you feel in yourselves a hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear, be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts: but, if you want this hope, fly, and get you hence, rather than, by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain, that he is careful for you. With him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will; much more then, nothing shall happen to your bodies, which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means,—yea when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand; you shall not lie still. Tofore you call upon him, he heareth you; out of evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved hereof, doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you—not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your captain, your pastor, your keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you—in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity: namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

*Mary.**A. D.**1555.*

We ought to depend upon God's providence always.

All our hope is only in Christ and for his sake to be received.

Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, etc. Marvel not, though the devil and the world hate you—though ye be persecuted here—for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches; fear not the power of man; love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

To bear the cross.

Mortification.

In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead, be in the faith of the Son of God; "For the just doth live by faith:" which faith fieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God as a lantern to her feet, and a light to her steps. Her eyes be above, where Christ is; she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she glorieth in affliction; she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us, and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth! It will make us valiant men, to take to us the kingdom of God; whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord—to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

We must live in the faith of Christ.

The property of faith.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you: but that, my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof; and the God of peace be with us all. Amen.—This 11th of February, 1555.

Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,

John Bradford.

A Letter to the University and Town of Cambridge.

To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only prisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our lonely Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever. Amen.

Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet, having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The martyrs persecuted of the prelates not for their sins, but only for Christ. The cause of his condemnation declared.

A great mercy of God, to turn the death of his saints, justly deserved, to serve for a confirmation of his own glory.

Cantabrigienses bene moniti.

something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (specially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same : but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me; that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, whereof I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God through Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do persecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as a heretic, because I will not grant the antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his church here, and everywhere upon earth, by God's ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea of dogs and mice. Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's sake, will do in me, and by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of God's verity and truth? Thou, my mother the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now, to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed; or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

Of this, therefore, I thought good tofore my death, as time and liberty would suffer me (for love and duty I bear unto thee), to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish supremacy,¹ and the antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these opinions are not only beside God's word, but even directly against it; and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore, for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christ's *collyrium* and eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea alas, authorised, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not "*canis reversus ad vomitum*."² Be not "*sus lota reversa ad volutabrum cœni*."³ Beware lest that Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than after knowledge to run from it. Ah! wo to this world and the things therein, which have now so wrought with you. O that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm! for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare the better; but if thou the light be darkness, alas,

(1) Read before the letter of Cambridge to king Henry VIII.

(2) The dog returned to his own vomit.

(3) "The sow that was washed, returned to her wallowing in the mire." 2 Pet. ii.

how great will the darkness be! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou should thus be afraid of him?

O what is honour and life here? Bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah; that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her, and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the wo that Christ threateneth to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than thou shouldst offend the little ones?

And alas, how hast thou offended? yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hath not the whore of Babylon more costly array, and rich apparel externally to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the king's daughter the church of Christ—without or within? Doth not David say, within? O remember that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman (that is, Christ's wife), except they would make much of her husband, Christ and his word, she would not be made much of them.

When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church? they or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, "Search the Scriptures." And, good mother, shall the servant be above his master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? Who were taken in Noah's time for the church? poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom? Lot, or others? And doth not Christ say, "As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of Man?" What meaneth Christ when he saith, "Iniquity shall have the upper hand?" Doth not he tell that "charity shall wax cold?" And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, which would now be taken for Christ's church? All that fear God in this realm truly, can tell more of this than I can write.

Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Horn, Scory, Ponet, etc. something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor. And now cast not away the poor admonition of me, going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was: for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally, both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother! awake, awake; repent, repent; buskle thyself, and make thee bowne to turn to the Lord: for else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts. O stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by me, a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord; for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now "the axe is laid to the root of the tree."

You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweat came, what would

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The glory
of this
world is a
vain
thing.

Babylon
hath Ju-
dah in
captivity.

The
church
standeth
not in the
outward
show.

Custom,
unity, an-
tiquity,
consent of
multi-
tude, are
marks de-
ceivable

*See
Appendix.*

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Bradford prophesies before the sweat-time, what would follow, etc. He teacheth Cambridge to pray.

God's mercy promised to Cambridge if it repent.

Cambridge threatened, if it repent not.

come, if you repented not your carnal gospelling. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not; if you leave not your idolatry; if you turn not speedily to the Lord; if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth, which you know.

O Perne repent! O Thompson repent! O you doctores, bachelors, and masters repent! O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord! Rend your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, "peccavimus," we have sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord! Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon us our offences! In thine anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, "Where is now thy God?" O for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

If in this sort, my dearly beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look merrily upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people; for he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion: he cannot be chiding for ever: his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease; for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

O turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers: you shall perish in your wickedness; your blood will be upon your own heads; your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal shame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you, world without end. Oh, therefore, right dear to me in the Lord! turn you, turn you; repent you, repent you; amend, amend your lives; depart from evil; do good; follow peace and pursue it. Come out from Babylon; cast off the works of darkness; put on Christ; confess his truth; be not ashamed of his gospel; prepare yourselves to the cross; drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs; and then shall I, with you and for you, rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand; and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my "vale in aeternum," with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom: Amen, Amen.—Out of prison, ready to the stake, the 11th of February, Anno 1555.

Your own in the Lord for ever,

John Bradford.

A Letter to Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially to Manchester.

To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and specially abiding in Manchester and thereabout—John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion, wisheth mercy and grace, peace and increase of all godliness, from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter, for ever. Amen.

I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed: that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there (for in Manchester was I born), for a seal to the doctrine

I have taught with you, and amongst you : so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect of mine offence, which is none to themwards), think, by killing of me amongst you, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will, by my death, more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoyce to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed ; that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it : for they only are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his law requireth, then could I not but cry as I do, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, and all thy judgments are true." For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before my professing the gospel, but since also : yea, even since my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse myself before God and all his church, that I have grievously offended my Lord God ; I have not loved his gospel as I should have done ; I have sought myself, and not simply and only his glory and my brethren's commodity ; I have been too unthankful, secure, carnal, hypocritical, vain-glorious, etc. : all which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christ's sake, as I hope, and certainly believe, he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

He confesseth his sins before God.
The papists condemn not Bradford, but Christ.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoyce than I do : for it is God's verity and truth ; so that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and of his truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument, in whom Christ and his doctrine are condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoyce ; rejoyce and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction : much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you, for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for this his great and exceeding mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord : Amen.

But perchance you will say unto me, "What is the cause for the which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy Supper, and so make it a bare sign and common bread, and nothing else." My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that Pendleton² is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know how he hath preached contrary to that he was wont to preach afore I came amongst you), but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before I come, when I am come, and when I am burned, I much pass not : for he that is so uncertain, and will speak so often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it make for his purpose and profit : but of this enough.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as a heretic, is because I deny in the sacrament of the altar (which is not Christ's Supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms and accidents of bread and wine ; that is, because I deny transubstantiation, which is the darling of the devil, and daughter and heir to antichrist's religion, whereby the mass is maintained, Christ's Supper perverted, his sacrifice and cross imperfect, his priesthood destroyed, the ministry taken away, repentance repelled, and all true godliness abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord, or sacrament of Christ's body and blood, I confess and believe that there is a true and very presence of the whole Christ, God and man, to the faith of the receiver (but not of the stander-by and looker-on), as there is a very true presence of bread and wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This faith, this doctrine, which consenteth with the word of God, and with the true testimony of Christ's church (which the popish church doth persecute), will I not forsake,

The cause why Bradford was condemned.

Transubstantiation the devil's darling, and daughter of antichrist.

(1) "Justus es Domine, et omnia judicia tua vera."

(2) Dr. M. Pendleton recanted first in king Edward's time, and now again in queen Mary's time.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

and therefore I am condemned as a heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this truth (which I have taught, and you have received, I believed, and do believe, and therein give my life) I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome: but shall triumph, have victory, and be at liberty, maugre the head of all God's adversaries. For there is no counsel against the Lord, nor can any device of man be able to defeat the verity in any other than such as be children of unbelief, which have no love to the truth, and therefore are given up to believe lies: from which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech his mercy: Amen.

Bradford's
farewell
to the
county of
Lancashire.

God's
manifest
plagues
upon
England
in queen
Mary's
days.
The cause
of God's
plagues is
our in-
iquities,
and not
knowing
the time
of God's
visita-
tion.

Rising
with
David.
Suing
with the
centu-
rion.
Repent-
ing with
the pub-
lican.
Return-
ing with
the lost
son.

Brad-
ford's last
farewell.

The day
of God's
wrath at
hand.

And to the end you might be delivered from this plague—right dear to me in the Lord—I shall, for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire you all, in the bowels and blood of our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the holy Scriptures of the Lord.

You know a heavy plague (or rather plagues) of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, etc.; and setting over us, such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his people may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, etc. Long did the Lord linger and tarry to have showed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealeth with us: yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed: for if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas! how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved (yea undesired on our behalf), let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him), but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and, according to his wonted mercy, to deal with us.

Let us arise with David, and say, "Ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo," etc. i.e. "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified." Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, "Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace." Let us penitently, with the publican, look down on the earth, knock our hard hearts to burst them, and cry out, "O God, be merciful unto us wretched sinners." Let us, with the lost son, return and say, "O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children." Let us, I say, do on this sort; that is, heartily repent us of our former evil life, and unthankful gospelling past, convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy name; and then, undoubtedly, we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding; and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I, your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in aeternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ showed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison (as often out of your pulpits I have done), that you will repent you, leave off your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord; whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth, that he may show mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort; he will not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long suffering draweth us to repentance before the time of vengeance and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

Now is the axe laid to the root of the tree, utterly to destroy the impenitent.

Now is the fire gone out before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh! therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done: it is enough to have played the wanton gospellers, the proud protestants, hypocritical and false Christians; as alas, we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: oh! turn before he speaketh in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plenteous redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to show mercy to them that call upon him. Oh! then call upon him while he may be found; for he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him. So that he that calleth on the name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord saith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repent him thereof, that he will never remember our iniquities: but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his people; his law will he write in our hearts, and ingraft in our minds, and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Wanton
gospel-
lers.
Proud
protest-
ants:
false
Chris-
tians.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh! why do you stop your ears, and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? Oh! forget not how that the Lord hath showed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues, which at my mouth you oft heard me preach of before they came; specially when I treated of Noah's flood, and when I preached of the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now, by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, etc. (wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth:) if (I say) you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you; oh! your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

Bradford
prophe-
sied of
these
plagues
before.

Destruc-
tion
threat-
ened to
them that
repent
not.

As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you; cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, flee the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness; fly from fornication and flattery, murder, and malice; destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on pity and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, etc. Be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doing's sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go to therefore, good countrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the papists, God's enemies (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death and are the causers thereof; for they know not what they do), so will my blood cry for vengeance against you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn not unto the Lord.

Precepts
of life.

Good
counsel
given.

Brad-
ford's
blood will
cry out
against
the re-
cusers of
his coun-
sel.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Line, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Mottram, Stockport, Winsley, Eccles, Preston, Middleton, Radcliff, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you; he will say unto his angel, It is enough, put up the sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah good brethren! take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

Out of prison ready to come to you, the 11th of February, Anno 1555.

Mary.

To the Town of Walden.

A. D.
1555.

To the faithful, and such as profess the true doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now in bands and condemned for the same true doctrine, wisheth grace, mercy, and peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit the Comforter, for ever : Amen.

Bradford answereth with his blood for his doctrine.

When I remember how that by the providence and grace of God I have been a man, by whom it hath pleased him through my ministry to call you to repentance and amendment of life, something effectually, as it seemed, and to sow amongst you his true doctrine and religion, lest that by my affliction, and storms now arisen to try the faithful, and to conform them like to the image of the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might be faint-hearted ; I could not but, out of prison secretly (for my keepers may not know that I have pen and ink) write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the doctrine I have taught amongst you, which (I take on my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom) I am persuaded to be God's assured, infallible, and plain truth ; but also should, after your vocation, avow the same by confession, profession, and living. I have not taught you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, fables, tales, or untruths ; but I have taught you the verity, as now by my blood, gladly (praised be God therefor) I do seal the same.

Accuseth again his own life.

Indeed, to confess the truth unto you, and to all the church of Christ, I do not think of myself, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, and that eternally, for mine hypocrisy, vain-glory, uncleanness, self-love, covetousness, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnal professing of God's holy gospel, living therein not so purely, lovingly, and painfully as I should have done. The Lord of mercy, for the blood's sake of Christ, pardon me, as I hope, yea, I certainly believe he hath done, for his holy name's sake through Christ. But, my dearly beloved, you and all the whole world may see, and easily perceive, that the prelates persecute in me another thing than mine iniquities, even Christ himself, Christ's verity and truth, because I cannot, dare not, nor will not, confess transubstantiation, and how that wicked men, yea mice and dogs, eating the sacrament, which they term of the altar (thereby overthrowing Christ's holy supper utterly), do eat Christ's natural and real body born of the Virgin Mary.

Christ himself persecuted in his martyrs.

To believe and confess as God's word teacheth, the primitive church believed, and all the catholic and good holy fathers taught five hundred years at the least after Christ, that in the Supper of the Lord (which the mass overthroweth, as it doth Christ's priesthood, sacrifice, death, and passion, the ministry of his word, true faith, repentance, and all godliness), whole Christ, God and man, is present by grace to the faith of the receivers, but not of the standers-by and lookers-on, as bread and wine is to their senses, will not serve : and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as a heretic. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God, that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply, because I have deserved no less, but much more at his hands and justice : but rather because I confess his verity and truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do, that you also might be confirmed in his truth. Therefore, my dearly beloved, I heartily do pray you, and so many as unfeignedly love me in God, to give, with me and for me, most hearty thanks to our heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ ; for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you also, that your faith waver not from the doctrine I have taught, and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your consciences of the verity taught by your preachers, than their own lives ?

Bradford persecuted for confessing the truth.

God's truth never can be kept under by the adversaries.

Go to, therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christ's religion truly taught you, and set forth in king Edward's days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and prison it, and keep it in bonds. Us they may prison ; they may bind and burn as they do, and will do, so long as shall please the Lord : but our cause, religion, and doctrine which we confess, they shall never be able

to vanquish and put away. Their idolatry and popish religion shall never be built in the consciences of men that love God's truth. As for those that love not God's truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, over those, I say, the devil shall prevail: for God will give them strong illusion to believe lies. Therefore, dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, I humbly beseech you and pray you in the bowels and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death for the testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done before this present out of your pulpit, that you would love the Lord's truth; love (I say) to live it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas! you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which God's adversaries have daily, is for our not loving God's word.

You know how that we were but gospellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, concupiscentious, idle, unthankful, unclean, covetous, arrogant, dissemblers, crafty, subtle, malicious, false, backbiters, etc.; and even glutted with God's word; yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the manna in the wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lord's wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late to turn, than never to turn) we confess our faults even from the bottom of our hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercy's sake) we run unto the Lord our God, who is exorable, merciful, and sorry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with Daniel, saying, "We have sinned, we have sinned grievously, O Lord God! against thy Majesty. We have heaped iniquity upon iniquity, the measure of our transgressions floweth over, so that justly are thy vengeance and wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long suffering, we have not hearkened to thy voice. When thou hast called us by preachers, we hardened our hearts; and therefore now deserve that thou send thy curse hereupon to harden our hearts also, that we should henceforth have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, lest we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us! spare us, good Lord, and all thy people, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee; for then will they be puffed up. Look down and behold the pitiful complaint of the poor; let the sorrowful sighing of the simple come in thy sight, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us, O Lord God of hosts, unto thee, and turn thee unto us, that thou mayest be justified in thy sweet sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is their God? Can God deliver them now? Can their gospel save them? O Lord how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honour's sake, in the bowels and blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable."

On this sort I say, dearly beloved! let us publicly and privately bewail our sins; but so that hereto we join ceasing from wilfulness and sin of purpose: for else the Lord heareth not our prayers, as David saith. And in St. John it is written, The impenitent sinners God heareth not. Now, impenitent are they which purpose not to amend their lives: as for example, not only such as follow still their pleasures, in covetousness, uncleanness, carnality; but those also which, for fear or favour of man, do against their conscience consent to the Romish rags, and resort to the rotten religion, communicating in service and ceremonies with the papists; thereby declaring themselves to love more the world than God, to fear man more than Christ, to dread more the loss of temporal things than eternal; in whom it is evident the love of God abideth not: For he that loveth the world, hath not God's love abiding in him, saith St. John. Therefore, my dear hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christ's religion and name, and the renouncing of the devil, sin, and the world.

Remember that tofore ye learned A. B. C., your lesson was Christ's cross. Forget not that Christ will have no disciples, but such as will promise to deny themselves, to take up their cross (mark, they must take it up), and follow him, and not the multitude, custom, and use. Consider, for God's sake, that if we gather not with Christ, we scatter abroad. What should it profit a man to win the whole world, and lose his own soul? We must not forget that this life is a wilderness, and not a paradise; here is not our home: we are now in warfare; we must needs fight, or else be taken prisoners. Of all things we have in this

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

He exhorteth them to love God's truth, and to live thereafter.

God's gospel abused.

God's gospel loathed.

He exhorteth to repentance and prayer, and to bewail our sins before the Lord our God.

The prayers of sinners be not heard. Romish rags and rotten religion.

See Appendix.

The A. B. C. of the Christians, beginning with Christ's cross.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

They never lose that follow Christ.

He exhorteth to amendment in religion and conversation.

The Lord watcheth to perform his word double-wise. Bradford must be a witness in the last day, etc.

life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as soldiers: if we keep company with him in affliction, we shall be sure of his society in glory: if we forsake not him, he will never forsake us: if we confess him, he will confess us; but, if we deny him, he will deny us: if we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and heaven, and all things to come to us; so let us forsake all things, and come to him, being sure and most certain that we shall not lose thereby. Your children shall find, and feel it double, yea treble, whatsoever you lose for the Lord's sake; and you shall find and feel peace of conscience, and friendship with God, which is more worth than all the goods of the world.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lord's sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my *vale*, and last farewell for ever, in this present life. Turn to the Lord; repent you of your evil and unthankful life; declare repentance by the fruits; take time while ye have it; come to the Lord while he calleth you; run into his lap, while his arms be open to embrace you; seek him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient; forsake and flee from all evil, both in religion, and in the rest of your life and conversation. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and praise God in the day of his visitation. "O! come again, come again you strange children, and I will receive you, saith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why, will ye needs perish? As sure as I live (swareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a woman forget the child of her womb? If she should, yet I will not forget you, saith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your sins for mine own sake."

O then, dear friends, turn I say unto your dearest Father. Cast not these sweet and loving words to the ground, and at your tail; for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two sorts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that cast it at their backs, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out indignation and eternal shame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you and every of you, not to condemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loth would I be to be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be, if ye repent not; if ye love not God's gospel; yea, if ye love it not.

Therefore (to conclude) repent; love God's gospel; live in it all your conversation; so shall God's name be praised, his plagues be mitigated, his people comforted, and his enemies ashamed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us, for thy dear Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever: Amen.

The 12th of February, anno 1555.

By the bondman of our Lord, and your poor afflicted brother,

John Bradford.

To my loving Brethren, B. C. etc., their Wives, and whole Families.
John Bradford.¹

I beseech the ever-living God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever: Amen.

The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper hand; iniquity over-floweth; the truth and verity seemeth to be suppressed; and they which take part therewith, are unjustly entreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this, is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurturcth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have condemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been too carnal, covetous, licentious, etc.; we have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us

God's anger and mercy both together upon his church.

(1) This other letter of master Bradford was written to certain friends of his, whom, for danger of that time, he would not name.

with antichristian religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every of us should now call to our memory oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this: that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we should have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we would have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence, and negligence of God and true godliness. And then, if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils? No greater sign of damnation there is, than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security;¹ which, of all plagues, is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards and not sons,² they are not under God's rod of correction.

A great mercy it is therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world.³ Now doth he nurture us, because he favoureth us. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at us:⁴ now calleth he us to remember our sins past. Wherefore? That we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children; and so begin to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed, we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.⁵

Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross;⁶ thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign;⁷ if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us,⁸ crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.⁹ "Be glad," saith Peter, "for the Spirit of God resteth upon you."¹⁰ After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you.¹¹ And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods; for confession of Christ's gospel and truth which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king, and most holy prince, king Edward. This is most certain, if you lose any thing for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service set up again amongst us: as you, for your parts, even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children, in this present life, find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell:¹² for he will show merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread.¹³ You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet, and to be set by, than life itself, much more than any muck or pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful: for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you.¹⁴ You know the way to

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Exhortation to repentance and amendment.

God's mercy the cause why we are punished here.

Jezebel's bed of security.

Why God's saints be afflicted in this world.

He exhorteth them to take comfort in the cross.

God's mercy seen in the cross.

(1) Rev. iii.

(2) Heb. xii.

(3) 1 Cor. xi.

(4) 1 Pet. iv.

(5) Phil. iii.

(6) Rom. viii.

(7) 2 Tim. i.

(8) Matt. x.

(9) Matt. v.

(10) 1 Pet. iv.

(11) 1 Pet. v.

(12) Matt. xix.

(13) Psalm xxxviii.

(14) Rom. viii.

Mary. heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a strait way, which few walk in;¹ for few live godly in Christ Jesus;² few regard the life to come;³ few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father;⁴ that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and true service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods.

*A. D.
1555.*

*A strait
way.*

But, I trust, you are of this few, my dearly beloved; I trust you be of that little flock,⁵ which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which shall be comforted with comfort, which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils; if now you strive against the evils that are in you; if now you continue to call upon God; if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches;⁶ if you molest not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal redemption, a counsellor and master to lead you into all truth;⁷ which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace,⁸ which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God thereafter.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered; so that not one of them shall perish,⁹ neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father,¹⁰ which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further¹¹ than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will.¹² Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you.¹³ Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean and your bodies pure from the idolatrous service, which now everywhere is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy name's sake, in Christ our Lord. Amen.

To his dearly-beloved in Christ, unto a godly couple, Erkinalde Rawlins and his Wife.

God, our dear and most merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever; and in all things so guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him: Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporally (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you both now and eternally), I cannot but go about (Lord help hereto for thy mercy's sake!) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

*Days of
affliction
to the
godly are
joyful: to
the unre-
penting
sinners
they be
doleful
days.*

*Cleansing
days.
God's
physic
not to be
refused.*

My dearly beloved! look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you; that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance; but rather as lucky days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be; that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preservation of their pelf, which (will they, nill they) they shall leave sooner or later; and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance; and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they condemn the physick of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not: and because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them. As when the sick man will no kind of physick at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length. To such men, indeed, these days are and

(1) Matt. vii.

(2) 2 Tim. iii.

(3) 2 Cor. v.

(4) Matt. xvi.

(5) Luke xli.

(6) Rom. xiv.

(7) Ephes. iv.

(8) Acts xx.

(9) Matt. x.

(10) Matt. viii.

(11) Psalm cv.

(12) Psalm xxxi

(13) 1 Pet. v.

should be doleful days, and days of woe and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh.

But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are), unto such, I say, this time is and should be comfortable. For first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth them to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth: he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

So that I say, first we have cause to rejoice for these days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children. Whereby we may be certain, that we be no bastards, but children; for he chastiseth every child whom he receiveth. So that they which are not partakers of his chastising, or that condemn it, declare themselves to be bastards, and not children, as I know you are, which, as ye are chastised, so do ye take it to heart accordingly. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly, even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us. Amen.

Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves, but also the world, shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lord's dearlings. Before these days came, Lord God! how many thought of themselves, they had been in God's bosom; and so were taken, and would be taken of the world! But now we see whose they are: for to whom we obey, his servants we are. If we obey the world (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it), then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's: which thing (I mean, that ye are God's) these days have declared both to you, to me, and to all others that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore ye have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you.

What though the world repine thereat? What though he kick? What though he seek to trouble and molest you? My dear hearts, he doth but his kind: he cannot love the Lord, which liveth not in the Lord: he cannot brook the child, that hateth the father: he cannot mind the servant, that careth not for the master. If ye were of the world, the world would love you; ye should dwell quietly; there would be no grief, no molestation. If the devil dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid), he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you (as he doth by faith), therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten son, the World, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father—to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man's eyes have seen at any time—hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you; and, by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him (for ye may not love them above him), as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

Satan perchance telleth God (as he did of Job), that ye love God for your goods' sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power on your goods and body accordingly—should ye be dismayed? should ye despair? should ye be faint-hearted? Should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? O forget not the end that happened to Job: for as it happened to him, so shall it happen unto you. For God is the same God, and cannot long forget to show mercy to them that look and long for it; as I know ye do, and I pray you so to do still. For the Lord loveth you, and never can nor will forget to show

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

God's chastisement to be received with comfort.

God punisheth not twice for one thing.

Difference between bastards and children.

Trouble trieth who be God's, and who be not.

A true lover of the world, is declared by his life.

The devil never entereth into his own hogs. The Lord giveth power to Satan sometimes over his servants, and to what end God useth to try his.

Mary. and pour out his mercy upon you. "After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you," saith Peter, "he will visit, comfort, and confirm you." As to A. D. 1555. Jacob wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did; that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

Jacob
must
teach us
towrestle.

Go to therefore; dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God's champions, or else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance, or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly;¹ so if you feel such infirmity in yourselves, as should turn to God's dishonour and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God's angel, to admonish you to take time whiles ye have it, and to see that in no case God's name by you might be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do: but, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather to tarry, and to stand to it: but I speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you, that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another; and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion: wherein though they be earnest, yet would they not lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others, by your giving place to violence.

Tribulation doth conform us to the image of Christ.

Last of all, ye have cause to rejoyce over these our days, because they be the days of conformation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christ's image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall reign also with him: if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again: if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoyce with him in glory: if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness: if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if we take his part, he will take ours: if we lose aught for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake. So that we ought to rejoyce and be glad; for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, etc., for the Lord's sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? what may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us his warriors? what can the Holy Ghost do to us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

The Lord's cognizance standeth not in forked caps, etc., but in suffering for the Lord's sake.

See Appendix.

This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, beads, or other such baggage and antichristian pelf; but in suffering for the Lord's sake. "The world shall hate you," saith Christ. Lo, there is the cognizance and badge of God's children: the world shall hate you. Rejoyce therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoyce, that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you, and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to contemn this world, more to desire life everlasting; more to be holy (for holiness is the end wherefore God doth afflict us), and so to come to God's company: which thing because we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body; which God of his mercy and in his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: Amen.

To Mistress A. Warcup.

The everlasting peace of Christ be more and more lively felt in our hearts, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever: Amen.

(1) This Erkinald and his wife, following this counsel, fled both beyond sea

Although I know it to be more than needeth to write any thing unto you, good sister, being, as I doubt not but you be, diligently exercised in reading of the Scriptures, in meditating of the same, and in hearty prayer to God for the help of his Holy Spirit, to have the sense and feeling, especially of the comforts you read in God's sweet book : yet, having such opportunity, and knowing not whether hereafter I shall ever have the like (as this bringer can declare), I thought good in few words to take my farewell in writing; because otherwise I cannot. And now methinks I have done it; for what else can I, or should I say unto you, my dearly beloved in the Lord, but farewell? Farewell, dear sister, farewell; howbeit in the Lord (our Lord), I say, farewell. In him shall you fare well, and so much the better, by how much in yourself you fare evil, and shall fare evil.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Brad-
ford's
farewell
to Mrs.
Warcup.

When I speak of yourself, I mean also this world, this life, and all things properly pertaining to this life. In them as you look not for your welfare, so be not dismayed, when accordingly you shall not feel it. To the Lord our God, to the Lamb our Christ, which hath borne our sins on his back, and is our Mediator for ever, do I send you. In him look for welfare, and that without all wavering, because of his own goodness and truth, which our evils and untruth cannot take away : not that therefore I would have you to flatter yourself in any evil or unbelief; but that I would comfort you, that they should not dismay you. Yours is our Christ wholly : yours, I say, he is, with all that ever he hath. Is not this welfare, trow you? Mountains shall move, and the earth shall fall, before you find it otherwise, say the liar Satan what he list.

Christ is
wholly
ours, with
all that
ever he
hath.

Therefore, good sister, farewell; and be merry in the Lord; be merry, I say, for you have good cause. If your welfare, joy, and salvation, hanged upon any other thing than only God's mercy and truth, then might you well be sad, heavy, and stand in a doubt: but in that it hangeth only upon these two, tell Satan he lieth, when he would have you to stand in a mammering, by causing you to cast your eyes (which only, in this case, should be set on Christ your sweet Saviour) on yourself. In some part, indeed, look on yourself, on your faith, on your love, obedience, etc., to wake you up from security, to stir you up to diligence, in doing the things appertaining to your vocation: but when you would be at peace with God, and have true consolation in your conscience, altogether look upon the goodness of God in Christ. Think on this commandment which precedeth all others; that you must have no other gods but the Lord Jehovah, which is your Lord and God: the which he could not be, if that he did not pardon your sins in very deed. Remember that Christ commandeth you to call him Father for the same intent. And hereto call to mind all the benefits of God, hitherto showed upon you; and so shall you feel in very deed, that which I wish unto you now, and pray you to wish unto me. Farewell, or welfare in the Lord Jesus, with whom he grant us shortly to meet as his children, for his name and mercy's sake, to our eternal welfare: Amen.

How to
answer to
Satan,
when he
moveth
us to
doubt of
God's fa-
vour.
How to
look upon
Christ;
how, upon
ourselves.
In case of
justifica-
tion, to
look only
upon the
goodness
of God in
Christ.

To mine own dear Brother, Master Lawrence Saunders, Prisoner in the Marshalsea.

My good brother, I beseech our good and gracious Father always to continue his gracious favour and love towards us, and by us, as by instruments of his grace, to work his glory and the confusion of his adversaries. "Out of the mouth of infants and babes he will show forth his praise, to destroy the enemy," etc.¹

I have perused your letters to myself, and have read them to others; for answer whereof, if I should write what doctor Taylor and master Philpot do think, then must I say, that they think, the salt sent unto us by your friend,² is unseasonable: and indeed I think they both will declare it heartily, if they should come before men. As for me, if you would know what I think, my good and most dear brother Lawrence, because I am so sinful and so conspurcate³ (the Lord knoweth I lie not) with many grievous sins which I hope are washed away *sanguine Christi nostri*, I neither can nor would be consulted withal, but

(1) "Ex ore infantium et lactentium fundet laudem ad destruendum inimicum," etc.

(2) This friend moved them to subscribe to the papists' articles, with this condition: so far as they were not against God's word, being indeed clean contrary to it: and yet, shortly after, he valiantly suffered death for refusing the same.

(3) "Conspurcate," defiled.—ED.

Mary. as a cipher in Agrime.¹ Howbeit, to tell you how and what I mind, take this for a sum : I pray God in no case I may seek myself; and indeed (I thank God therefore) I purpose it not.

A. D.
1555.

That which remaineth, I commit to my Lord God; and I trust in him, that he will do according to this:² "Cast thy care on the Lord,"³ etc.: "Cast all your care upon him,"⁴ etc. "Reveal unto the Lord thy way, and trust,"⁵ etc. "Who that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall compass him about."⁶ I did not, nor do I know, but by your letters, *quod cras* we shall come *coram nobis*. Mine own heart, still stick to *dabitur vobis*: i.e. "It shall be given you,"⁷ etc. "For the Lord is faithful. He will in temptation make a way that ye may be able to bear it."⁸ "The Lord knoweth how to rid out of temptation the godly,"⁹ etc. O would God I were godly! "The Lord knoweth how to deliver out of temptation such as trust in him,"¹⁰ etc. I cannot think that they will offer any kind of indifferent or mean conditions: for if we will not *adorare bestiam*, we never shall be delivered, but against their will, think I. God, our Father and gracious Lord, make perfect the good he hath begun in us!

"He will do it, my brother, my dear brother, whom I have in my inward bowels to live and die with. O if I were with you!"¹¹ Pray for me, my own heart-root in the Lord.

For ever your own,

John Bradford.

Another Letter to Master Lawrence Saunders.

God's sweet peace in Christ be with you, my good brother in the Lord Jesus, and with all your con-captives. Amen.

I was letted this morning from musing on that which I was purposed to have thought on by reason of you, against whom I saw myself guilty of negligence, even in this point that I would not write,—I should say, that I had not written unto you as yet: therefore out of hand in manner I prepared myself to purge myself hereof; not that I will go about to excuse my fault (for that were more to load me), but by asking both God and you pardon, to get it no more laid to my charge. Now when I was thus purposing, and partly doing, cometh there one with a letter from you: for the which as I have cause to thank God and you (howbeit not so that you should think I give not the whole to God), so I see myself more blameworthy, for this long holding my peace. Howbeit, good brother, in this I have given a demonstration to you, to behold my negligence in all other things, and especially in praying for you, and for the church of God, which for my sins and hypoerisy (hypoerisy indeed even in this writing; God deliver me from it!) have deserved to be punished. Just is God, for we have deserved all kind of plagues at his hands: but yet merciful is he that will on this wise chastise us with this world, "That we should not be condemned with the world."¹² He might otherwise have punished us; I mean, he might have for other causes cast us in prison, me especially, than for his gospel and word's sake. Praised therefore be his name, which voucheth us worthy this honour. Ah! good God, forgive us our sins, and work by this thy fatherly correction on us, on me especially, effectually to love thee and thy Christ; and with joyfulness unto the end to carry thy cross through thick and thin. Always set

Bradford
accuseth
himself of
negli-
gence, etc.

See
Appendix.

(1) "A cipher in Agrime." The first edition of Foxe, p. 1195, has "a siphar in augrim," being derived or corrupted from "algorithm." The word is found in connexion in some French verses, quoted in Carpentier's Supplement to Ducange's Glossary (vol. i. col. 957):

"Or ai tant fait par moi meisme
Que Chiffres sui en angorisme;"

and Ducange, under the word "Algarismus: arithmetica," thus quotes from Bernard De Breydenbach's Itin. Hierosol. p. 190, "Item numeros, cyfras et figuras Algarismi ipsa invenit:" (tom. i. col. 301. Paris. 1733). The letter *z* in the word 'angorisme' above, should probably be *u*, the conversion of *z* into *u* being common in the French language.—Ed.

(2) "Quod reliquum est Domino Deo meo committo, et spero in illum, quod ipse faciet juxta hoc:" "Jaeta in Dominum curam," etc.: "Omnis cura vestra conjecta sit in illum," etc. "Revela Domino viam tuam, et spera," etc. "Sperantem in Domino misericordia circumdabit."

(3) Psalm iv.

(4) 1 Pet. v.

(5) Psalm xxxvii.

(6) "Fidelis enim est Dominus, dabit in tentatione eventum quo possumus sufferre:" "Novit Dominus pios è tentatione eripere," etc.: "O utinam pios ego essem:" "Novit Dominus in die tribulationis sperantes in se," etc.

(7) Matt. x.

(8) 1 Cor. x

(9) 2 Pet. ii.

(10) Nahum i.

(11) Faciet mi frater, charissime frater, quem in intimis visceribus habeo ad convivendum et commoriendum. O si tecum essem.

(12) "Ne cum mundo condemneimur."

before our eyes, not this gallows on earth, if we will stick to thee, but the gallows in hell, if we deny thee, and swerve from that we have professed.

Ah! good brother, if I could always have God, his majesty, mercy, heaven, hell, etc., before mine eyes, then should I "obdurare," as Paul writeth of Moses,¹ "He endured," saith he, "as he that saw him which is invisible." Pray for me, as I know you do, and give thanks also: for, "In the Lord I trust, I shall not waver." "If I walk by the valley of the shadow of death, I will not fear, for thou art with me, O Lord."² I think we shall be shortly called forth; for now "*legem habent, et secundum legem*," etc., otherwise will they not reason with us; and I think their sheet-anchor will be, to have us to subscribe; the which thing if we do, though with this condition, "so far as the thing subscribed to, repugneth not against God's word," yet this will be offensive. Therefore let us *vadere planè*, and so *sanè*; I mean, let us all confess that we are no changelings, but *re-ipsa* are the same we were in religion, and therefore cannot subscribe except we will dissemble both with God, ourselves, and the world.

These things I write to you, dear brother in the Lord.³ Now I will read your epistle. Ah! brother, that I had the practical understanding with you in that Vine which you describe; pray the Lord that I may think so indeed.⁴ God make me thankful for you. All our fellow-prisoners salute you, and give thanks to God for you.⁵ The same do you for us, and pray that, etc.

Your brother in the Lord Jesus, to live and die with you,

J. Bradford.

To my dear Fathers, Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Ridley, and Dr. Latimer.

Jesus Emmanuel!—My dear fathers in the Lord, I beseech God our sweet Father through Christ, to make perfect the good he hath begun in us all. Amen.

I had thought that every of your staves had stood next the door; but now it is otherwise perceived. Our dear brother Rogers hath broken the ice valiantly, as this day, I think, or to-morrow at the uttermost, hearty Hooper, sincere Saunders, and trusty Taylor, end their course, and receive their crown. The next am I, who hourly look for the porter to open me the gates after them, to enter into the desired rest. God forgive me mine unthankfulness for this exceeding great mercy, that, amongst so many thousands, it pleaseth his mercy to choose me to be one, in whom he will suffer. For although it be most true, that I "justly suffer"⁶ (for I have been a great hypocrite, and a grievous sinner: the Lord pardon me!) yet, he hath done it, he hath done it indeed; yet, "What evil hath he done?"⁷ Christ, whom the prelates persecute, his verity which they hate in me, hath done no evil, nor deserveth death. Therefore ought I most heartily to rejoice of this dignation and tender kindness of the Lord's towards me, which useth remedy for my sin as a testimonial of his testament, to his glory, to my everlasting comfort, to the edifying of his church, and to the overthrowing of antichrist and his kingdom. Oh! what am I, Lord, that thou shouldest thus magnify me so vile a man and miser, as always I have been? Is this thy wont, to send for such a wretch and a hypocrite, as I have been, in a fiery chariot, as thou didst for Elias?⁸ Oh! dear fathers, be thankful for me, and pray for me, that I still might be found worthy, in whom the Lord would sanctify his holy name. And for your part, make you ready: for we are but your gentlemen-ushers: "The marriage of the Lamb is prepared, come unto the marriage."⁹ I now go to leave my flesh there, where I received it. I shall be conveyed thither, as Ignatius was at Rome, to the leopards;¹⁰ by whose evil I hope to be made better. God grant, if it be his will that I ask, it may make them better by me. Amen.

See
Appendix.

(1) "Obduravit," inquit, "perinde quasi vidisset eum qui est invisibilis." Heb. xi.

(2) "In Domino spero, non mutabor. Si ambulavero per vallem umbræ mortis, non timebo, quia tu Domine mecum es," etc. Psalm xxii.

(3) Hæc tibi scribo, frater mi charissime in Domino. Jam legam tuam Epistolam. 1 John ii. 13.

(4) Practicam tecum scientiam in vite illa quam pingis; roga Dominum ut ita verè sentiam. Amen.

(5) Salutant te omnes conceptivi et gratias Domino pro te agunt. Idem tu facias pro nobis, et ores ut, etc. (6) Juste patior.

(7) "Hic autem quid mali fecit?" This is a singular mercy of God, to have death, which is a due punishment for sin, turned into a demonstration and testimony of the Lord's truth.

(8) 2 Kings ii.

(9) Nuptiæ agni paratæ sunt, venite ad nuptias.

(10) He meaneth that he should be conveyed by the queen's guard unto Lancashire to be burnt, as the adversaries had once determined; like as Ignatius was, by a company of soldiers, conveyed to Rome, and cast to the leopards.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

For my farewell therefore, I write and send this unto you, trusting shortly to see you where we shall never be separated. In the mean season I will not cease, as I have done, to commend you to our Father of heaven, and that you would so do by me, I most heartily pray every one of you: you know now I have most need. "Faithful is God, which will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength." He never did it hitherto, nor now, and I am assured, he will never: Amen. "He is on my right hand, therefore I shall not fall. Wherefore my heart shall rejoice, for he shall not leave my soul in hell, neither shall suffer me, his holy One, by his grace in Christ, to see corruption."²

Out of prison in haste, looking every moment for the tormentor, the 8th of February, 1555. John Bradford.

*See
Appendix.*

To the Right Honourable Lord Russell, now Earl of Bedford;
being then in trouble for the verity of God's Gospel.

The everlasting and most gracious God and Father of our Saviour Jesu Christ, bless your good lordship with all manner of heavenly blessings in the same Christ our only comfort and hope: Amen.

The excellency of faith, and what it worketh.

Faith cometh by hearing the word, and not by hearing mass.

Praised be God our Father, which hath vouched you worthy, as of faith in his Christ, so of his cross for the same. Magnified be his holy name, who as he hath delivered you from one cross, so he hath made you willing (I trust), and ready to bear another, when he shall see his time to lay it upon you: for these are the most singular gifts of God, given as to few, so to none else but to those few which are most dear in his sight. Faith is reckoned, and worthily, among the greatest gifts of God, yea, it is the greatest itself that we may enjoy; for by it, as we be justified and made God's children, so are we temples and possessors of the Holy Spirit; yea of Christ also,³ and of the Father himself.⁴ By faith, we drive the devil away:⁵ we overcome the world,⁶ and are already citizens of heaven, and fellows with God's dear saints. But who is able to reckon the riches that this faith bringeth with her unto the soul she sitteth upon? No man nor angel. And therefore (as I said), of all God's gifts, she may be set in the top, and have the upmost seat. The which thing if men considered (in that she cometh alonely from God's own mercy seat, by the hearing, not of mass or matins, diriges, or such dross; but the word of God in such a tongue as we can and do understand), as they would be diligent and take great heed for doing or seeing any thing which might cast her down (for then they fall also): so would they with no less care read and hear God's holy word, joining thereto most earnest and often prayer, as well for the more and better understanding, as for the loving, living, and confessing of the same, maugre the head of the devil, the world, our flesh, reason, goods, possessions, carnal friends, wife, children, and very life here; if they should pull us back to hearken to their voice and counsel, for more quiet, sure, and longer use of them.

The efficacy of the cross, and what it worketh in God's children.

Now, notwithstanding this excellency of faith, in that we read the apostle to match therewith,⁷ yea (as it were) to prefer, suffering persecution for Christ's sake, I trow no man will be so fond as to think otherwise, but that I, and all God's children, have cause to glorify and praise God, which hath vouched you worthy so great a blessing. For though the reason or wisdom of the world thinketh of the cross according to their reach, and according to their present sense, and therefore flieth from it as from a most great ignominy and shame: yet God's scholars have learned otherwise to think of the cross, that is, the frame-house in the which God frameth his children, like to his son Christ; the furnace that fineth God's gold; the highway to heaven; the suit and livery that God's servants are served withal; the earnest and beginning of all consolation and glory: for they (I mean God's scholars, as your lordship is, I trust) do enter into God's sanctuary, lest their feet slip.⁸ They look not as beasts do, on things present only, but on things to come, and so have they as present to faith the judgment and glorious coming of Christ Jesus, like as the wicked have now their worldly wealth, wherein they wallow and will wallow, till they

(1) "Fidelis Deus, qui nunquam sinet nos tentari supra id quod possumus."

(2) "A dextris est mihi, non movebor. Propter hoc letabitur cor meum, quia non derelinquet animam meam in inferno. Nec dabit me, sanctum suum per gratiam in Christo, videre corruptionem. E carcere raptim, expectans omni momento carnificem." Psa. xvi.

(3) Ephes. iv. (4) John xiv. (5) 1 Pet. v. (6) 1 John v. (7) Phil. i. (8) Psa. lxxiii.

tumble headlong into hell, where are torments too terrible and endless. Now they follow the fiend (as the bear doth the train of honey, and the sow the swillings), till they be brought into the slaughter-house; and then they know that their prosperity hath brought them to perdition.¹ Then cry they, Wo, wo, we went the wrong way: we counted these men (I mean such as you be, that suffer for God's sake loss of goods, friends, and life, whom they shall see endued with rich robes of righteousness, crowns of most pure precious gold, and palms of conquest in the goodly glorious palace of the Lamb, where is eternal joy, felicity, etc.) We counted (will they then say) these men but fools and mad-men, we took their conditions to be but curiosity. But then will it be too late: then the time will be turned; laughing shall be turned into weeping, and weeping into rejoicing. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.

Therefore (as before I have said) great cause have I to thank God, which hath vouched you worthy of his most bountiful blessing: much more then have you cause, my good lord, so to be; I mean thankful. For look upon your vocation, I pray you: tell me how many noblemen, earls' sons, lords, knights, and men of estimation, hath God in this realm of England dealt thus withal? I dare say you think not that you have deserved this. Only God's mercy in his Christ hath wrought this on you, as he did in Jeremiah's time on Ebed-melech, in Achab's time on Abdias, in Christ's time on Joseph of Arimathea, in the apostles' time on Sergius Paulus and the queen Candace's chamberlain. Only now be thankful and continue; continue, continue, my good lord, continue to confess Christ. Be not ashamed of him before men: for then will not he be ashamed of you. Now will he try you. Stick fast unto him, and he will stick fast by you; he will be with you in trouble, and deliver you. But then must you cry unto him, for so it proceedeth: "He cried unto me, and I heard him; I was with him in trouble,"² etc.

Remember Lot's wife, which looked back: remember Francis Spira: remember that none is crowned, but he that striveth lawfully: remember that all you have, is at Christ's commandment: remember he lost more for you, than you can lose for him: remember you lose not that which is lost for his sake; for you shall find much more here and elsewhere: remember you shall die, and when, where, and how, ye cannot tell: remember the death of sinners is most terrible: remember the death of God's saints is most precious in his sight: remember the multitude goeth the wide way which windeth to wo: remember that the strait-gate, which leadeth to glory, hath but few travellers: remember Christ biddeth you to strive to enter in thereat: remember he that trusteth in the Lord, shall receive strength to stand against all the assaults of his enemies. Be certain all the hairs of your head are numbered: be certain your good Father hath appointed bounds, over the which the devil dares not look. Commit yourself to him; he is, hath been, and will be your keeper. Cast your care on him, and he will care for you. Let Christ be your scope, and mark to prick at; let him be your pattern to work by; let him be your ensample to follow: give him as your heart so your hands; as your mind so your tongue; as your faith so your feet; and let his word be your candle, to go before you in all matters of religion. Blessed is he that walketh not to these popish prayers nor standeth at them, nor sitteth at them:³ glorify God both in soul and body.⁴ He that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. Use prayer: look for God's help, which is at hand to them that ask and hope thereafter assuredly. In which prayers I heartily desire your lordship to remember us, who as we are going with you right gladly (God therefore be praised), so we look to go before you, hoping that you will follow, if God so will, according to your daily prayer, "Thy will be done on earth," etc. The good Spirit of God always guide your lordship unto the end: Amen.

Your lordship's own for ever,

John Bradford.

To Master Warcup and his Wife, Mrs. Wilkinson, and others of his godly Friends, with their Families.

The same peace our Saviour Christ left with his people, which is not without war with the world, Almighty God work plentifully in your hearts now and for ever. Amen.

(1) Wisd. v.

(2) Psal. xci.

(3) Psal. i.

(4) 1 Cor. vi.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The end
of pro-
sperity.

Few noblemen
called to
Christ's
kingdom.

God's re-
mem-
brancers.

Christ
only must
have both
heart and
hand.

A pithy
and effec-
tual let-
ter, etc.

*Mary.**A. D.
1555.*

The time, I perceive, is come wherein the Lord's ground will be known: I mean, it will now shortly appear who have received God's gospel into their hearts indeed, to the taking of good root therein; for such will not for a little heat or sun-burning wither, but stiffly will stand and grow on, maugre the malice of all burning showers and tempests. And forasmuch as—my beloved in the Lord—I am persuaded of you, that ye be indeed the children of God, God's good ground, which groweth and will grow on (by God's grace), bringing forth fruit to God's glory after your vocations, as occasions shall be offered (burn the sun never so hot), therefore I cannot but so signify unto you, and heartily pray you and every one of you accordingly, to go on forwards after your master Christ, not sticking at the foul way and stormy weather, which you are to come into, and are like so to do: of this being most certain, that the end of your journey shall be pleasant and joyful, in such a perpetual rest and blissfulness as cannot but swallow up the showers that ye now feel and are soused in, if ye often set it before your eyes, after Paul's counsel in the latter end of the fourth, and beginning of the fifth, chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Read it, I pray you, and remember it often as a restorative to refresh you, lest ye faint in the way.

Foul way
and foul
weather
to the
kingdom
of hea-
ven.

And besides this set before you also, that though the weather be foul, and storms grow apace, yet go not ye alone, but other your brothers and sisters tread the same path, as St. Peter telleth us: and therefore company should cause you to be the more courageous and cheerful. But if you had no company at all to go presently with you, I pray you tell me, if, even from the beginning, the best of God's friends have found any fairer weather and way to the place whither ye are going (I mean heaven), than ye now find and are like to do; except ye will, with the worldlings, which have their portion in this life, tarry still by the way till the storms be overpast; and then either night will so approach that ye cannot travel, or the doors will be sparred before ye come, and so ye then lodge without in wonderful and evil lodgings. Read Apocalypse xxii. Begin at Abel, and come from him to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, the patriarchs, Moses, David, Daniel, and all the saints of the Old Testament; and tell me whether ever any of them found any fairer way than ye now find.

The pas-
sage of all
God's
saints
hath been
through
affliction.

If the Old Testament will not serve, I pray you come to the New, and begin with Mary and Joseph, and come from them to Zachary and Elizabeth, John Baptist, and every one of the apostles and evangelists; and search whether they all found any other way into the city we travel towards, than by many tribulations.

Christ
Jesus, the
ring-lea-
der of all
Christ's
children,
afflicted.

Besides these, if ye should call to remembrance the primitive church,¹ Lord God! ye should see many to have given cheerfully their bodies to most grievous torments, rather than they would be stopped in their journey; that there is no day in the year, but (I dare say) a thousand was the fewest that with great joy lost their homes here, but in the city they went unto, have found other manner of homes than man's mind is able to conceive. But, if none of all these were, if ye had no company now to go with you, as you have me your poor brother and bondman of the Lord, with many others, I trust in God, if you had none other of the fathers, patriarchs, kings, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, and other holy saints and children of God, that in their journey to heaven-ward, found as ye now find, and are like to find if ye go on forward, as I trust ye will; yet ye have your master and your captain Jesus Christ, the dear darling and only-begotten and beloved Son of God, in whom was all the Father's pleasure, joy, and delectation; ye have him to go before you, no fairer way, but much fouler, into this our city of Jerusalem. I need not, I trust, to rehearse what manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but much worse than yours is now.

We must
not be so
dainty, to
look for
fairer
weather
than
Christ.

Wherefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, be not so dainty, as to look for that at God's hands, your dear Father, which the fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, evangelists, martyrs, saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ, did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trow) and fair weather also: now, because we have loitered by the way, and not made the speed we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weather, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more haste run out our race before

(1) Read the story of the primitive Church above described. [Vol. i.—Ed.]

night come, and the doors be sparred. The devil standeth now at every in-door in his city and country of this world, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storms be overpast; not that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticements. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how this man doth, and how that man doth; but cast your eyes on the gleve,¹ ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way; but altogether he looketh on the gleve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before. Even so should we do; leave off looking on those which will not run the race to heaven's bliss by the path of persecution with us; and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

He that shooteth, will not cast his eyes in his shooting on them that stand by, or ride by the ways (I trow), but rather at the mark he shooteth at: for else he were like to win the wrong way. Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus;² who, for the joy set before him, did joyfully carry his cross, contemning the shame; and therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God.³ Let us follow him;⁴ for this did he, that we should not be faint-hearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but, if we deny him, surely he will deny us;⁵ for he that is ashamed of me, saith Christ, and of my gospel, in this faithless generation, I will be ashamed of him before the angels of God in heaven.⁶ Oh! how heavy a sentence is this to all such as know the mass to be an abominable idol, full of idolatry, blasphemy, and sacrilege against God and his Christ (as undoubtedly it is); and yet, for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea for advantage and gain, some will honest it with their presence, dissembling both with God and man, as their own heart and conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils,⁷ to dissemble it; or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning.⁸ Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the 6th and 10th chapters, lest, by so doing, they fall therein. Let them beware they play not willy-beguile with themselves, as some do, I fear me, which go to mass, and, because they worship not, nor kneel, nor knock, as others do, but sit still in their pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

But, alas! if these men would look into their own consciences, there should they see they are very dissemblers, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the magistrates think them of their sort), they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all men's eyes are set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to mass, do see, or inquire of their behaviour there. Oh! if there were in those men that are so present at the mass, either love to God, or to their brethren, then would they, for the one or both, openly take God's part, and admonish the people of their idolatry. They fear man more than him which hath power to cast both soul and body into hell-fire;⁹ they halt on both knees:¹⁰ they serve two masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his eye-salve,¹¹ that they may see that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. O that they would read what St. John saith will be done to the fearful.¹² The counsel given to the church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.¹³

But to return to you again, dearly beloved: be not ye ashamed of God's gospel: it is the power of God to salvation to all those that do believe it.¹⁴ Be therefore partakers of the afflictions,¹⁵ as God shall make you able; knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear:¹⁶ and think it no small grace of God¹⁷ to suffer persecution for God's

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The devil's enticements not to be trusted.

To look to the mark.

What danger it is, to go to the blasphemous mass.

Dissembling gospellers.

(1) "Gleve," the mark, or the prize: see p. 250, note (4).—Ed.

(3) Heb. xii.

(4) Rom. viii.

(5) 2 Tim. ii.

(6) Matt. xii.

(2) Phil. iii.

(8) 2 Pet. ii.

(9) Matt. x.

(10) 1 Kings xviii. 21.

(11) Rev. iii.

(12) Rev. xxi.

(13) Rev. iii.

(14) Rom. i.

(15) 2 Tim. i.

(16) 1 Cor. x.

(17) Phil. i.

(7) Is. ii.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Persecu-
tion com-
pared to
the flail,
which
hurteth
not, but
cleanseth
the
wheat.

truth; for the Spirit of God resteth upon you,¹ and ye are happy,² as one day ye shall see: read 2 Thess. i. and Heb. xii. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ.³ The flail and wind hurteth not the wheat, but cleanseth it from the chaff. And ye, dearly beloved, are God's wheat: fear not therefore the flail: fear not the fanning wind, fear not the millstone, fear not the oven: for all these make you more meet for the Lord's own tooth. Soap, though it be black, soileth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black cross help us to more whiteness, if God strike with his battledore. Because ye are God's sheep, prepare yourselves to the slaughter,⁴ always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The souls under the altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. Howsoever it be, dearly beloved, cast yourselves wholly upon the Lord,⁵ with whom all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish.⁶ Will we, nill we, we must drink God's cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then; and at the first, when it is full, lest peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at length of the dregs with the wicked,⁷ if at the beginning we drink not with his children: for with them his judgment beginneth,⁸ and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the nations round about.

Submit yourselves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord.⁹ No man shall touch you without his knowledge: when they touch you therefore, know it is to your weal. God thereby will work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere.¹⁰ Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sin, and bless God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world.¹¹ Otherwise might he correct us, than in making us to suffer for righteousness' sake: but this he doth, because we are not of the world. Call upon his name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: "I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him," saith he.¹² Know that God hath appointed bounds,¹³ over which the devil and all the world shall not pass. If all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, "If he kill me, I will hope in him." Read the 91st Psalm, and pray for me, your poor brother and fellow-sufferer for God's gospel sake; his name therefore be praised. And of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good conscience for his name's sake. Die once we must, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God giveth to pay nature's debt, I mean to die for his sake.

Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem,¹⁴ the way thither to be by persecutions; the dear friends of God, how they have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose footsteps let us follow even to the very gallows, if God so will, not doubting but that as he, within three days, rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; that is, when the trump shall blow, and the angel shall shout, and the Son of Man shall appear in the clouds with innumerable saints and angels, in majesty and great glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort yourselves with these words, and pray for me for God's sake.

E carcere 19 Nov. 1553.

J. Bradford.

To Sir James Hales, Knight, then Prisoner in the Compter in Bread-street.

The God of mercy, and Father of all comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his mercy, and with his consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christ's sake.

Although, right worshipful sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to persevere well, as he hath right notably begun, to the great glory of his name,

(1) 1 Pet. vi.

(2) Mat. v.

(3) 1 Pet. i.

(4) Rom. viii.

(5) 1 Pet. v.

(6) Matt. x.

(7) Psalm lxxv.

(8) 1 Pet. iv.

(9) 1 Pet. v.

(10) Rom. viii.

(11) 1 Cor. xi.

(12) Psalm l.

(13) Psalm xxii.

(14) Heb. xii.; Rev. xxi. xxii.

and comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, yea, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and name), and other such like things; yet I cannot content myself, but presume something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my *συμπάθειαν* and compassion, love and affection, I bear towards your mastership, which is contented, yea desirous with us poor misers, to confess Christ's gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. O Lord God! how good art thou, which dost thus glean out grapes—I mean children for thyself, and brethren for Christ! Look, good master Hales, on your vocation: not many judges, not many knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as he hath now done you. Certainly I dare say you think not so of yourself, as though God were bound to prefer you, or had need of you; but rather attribute this, as all good things, unto his free mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you, being a wise man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your cross, you judge of it not after the world and people, which is *magnus erroris magister*; nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to faith; nor after the present sense, to which “it seemeth not to be joyous, but grievous,”¹ as Paul writeth: but after the word of God, which teacheth your cross to be, in respect of yourself, between God and you; God's chastising, and your Father's correction, nurture, school, trial, path-way to heaven, glory, and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortify the relics of old Adam which yet remain; yea even the frame-house to fashion you like to the dearest saints of God here, yea to Christ the Son of God, that elsewhere you might be like unto him.

Now, concerning your cross in respect of the world, between the world and you, God's word teacheth it to be a testimonial of God's truth, of his providence, of his power, of his justice, of his wisdom, of his anger against sin, of his goodness, of his judgment, of your faith and religion, so that by it you are to the world a witness of God, one of his *testes*, that he is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the world, and cast the wicked into perdition; but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after faith's fetch, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see “an eternal weight of glory,”² which this cross shall bring unto you, “while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen.”³ Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly and corporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the king's last will; and therefore they did that, for the which they bespewed themselves: but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as, God be praised, you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then beheld things not as a man, but as a man of God; and so you do now in religion, at the least hitherto you have done: and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, say with David, “Mine eyes fail for thy word-saying; when wilt thou comfort me?”⁴ Though you be as “uter in fumo,” that is, like “a bottle in the smoke:” (for I hear you want health) yet, “ne obliviscaris justificationes Dei.” “Do not forget the statutes of the Lord:” but cry out, “How many are the days of thy servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me?”⁵ And be certain “The Lord will surely come, and not stay; though he tarry, wait for him;”⁶ for he is but a while in his anger, but in his favour is life: weeping may abide at evening, but joy cometh in the morning.⁷ Follow therefore Esay's counsel, “Hide thyself for a very little while, until his indignation pass over,”⁸ which is not “indignatio” indeed, but to our sense; and therefore in Esay xxvii. God saith of his church and people, that as he keepeth night and day, so “There is no anger in me,”⁹ saith he.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.How God
gleaneth
out his
people.The
world,
and peo-
ple of
worldly
wisdom,
are evil
judges of
things
spiritual.Praise of
the cross.The cross
maketh
us wit-
nesses to
God,
wherein
and in
what
things.Subscrib-
ing to
king Ed-
ward's
will.

(1) “Non videtur gaudii, sed molestiæ.” Heb. xii.

(2) “Æternum pondus gloriæ.” 1 Cor. iv.

(3) “Dum non spectas ea quæ videntur, sed ea quæ non videntur.”

(4) “Defecerunt oculi mei in eloquium tuum: quando consolaberis me?” Psalm cxix.

(5) “Quot sunt dies servi tui? quando facies de persequentibus me judicium?”

(6) “Quod Dominus veniens veniet, et non tardabit. Si moram fecerit, expecta illum.” Habak. iii.

(7) “Ad momentum in ira sua, et vita in voluntate ejus: ad vesperam demorabitur fletus, et ad matutinam lætitia.” Ps. xxx.

(8) “Abscondere ad modicum, ad momentum, donec pertranseat indignatio ejus.” Isa. xxvi.

(9) “Non est indignatio mihi.” Isa. xxvii.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.God's love
in our
correc-
tions.

The mother sometimes beateth her child, but yet her heart melteth upon it, even in the very beating: and therefore she casteth the rod into the fire, and collett¹ the child, giveth it an apple, and dandleth it most motherly. And, to say the truth, the love of mothers to their children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us: and therefore saith he, "Can a mother forget the child of her womb?"² As who should say, no: but if she should so do, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord of hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, saith the Lord. Indeed the children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, "Hide not thy face from me,"³ etc. "Leave me not, O Lord,"⁴ etc. Whereas in very truth it is not so, but to their present sense: and therefore David said, "I said in my agony, I was clean cast away from thy face."⁵ But was it so? Nay verily. "Read his Psalms, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he saith, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"⁶ He saith not, "Why dost thou forsake me?"⁷ or, "Why wilt thou forsake me?"⁸ But, "Why hast thou forsaken me?"⁹ Where indeed God had not left him, but that it was so to his sense; and that, this psalm telleth us full well: which psalm I pray you now and then read, it is the 22d, and thereto join the 31st, and the 116th, with divers others. The same we read in the prophet Isaiah, chap. xl., where he reproveth Israel for saying, "God had forgotten them;"¹⁰ "Knowest thou not," saith he; "Hast thou not heard,"¹¹ etc. "They that trust in the Lord shall renew their strength."¹² And in his 54th chapter, "Fear not, etc.: for a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting mercy have I had compassion on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer. For this is unto me as the waters of Noah: for as I have sworn that the waters of Noah should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down; but my mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, saith the Lord that hath compassion on thee."¹³

But the Scriptures are full of such sweet places to them that will "bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help."¹⁴ As of all temptations this is the greatest, that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through the pikes, as they say: so of all services of God, this liketh him the best, to hope assuredly on him, and for his help always, which is "a helper in tribulations," and doth more gloriously show his power by such as be weak, and feel themselves so.¹⁵ For "the weaker we are, the more strong we are in him."¹⁶ Thus the eyes of the Lord be on them that tremble and fear.¹⁷ "He will accomplish their desire, he is with them in their trouble, he will deliver them."¹⁸ Before they cry, he heareth them;¹⁹ as all the Scriptures teach us. To the reading whereof, and hearty prayer, I heartily commend you, beseeching Almighty God, that of his eternal mercy he would make perfect the good he hath begun in you, and strengthen you to the end; that you might have no less hope, but much more of his help to your comfort now against your enemies, than already he hath given you against N., for not subscribing to the king's will.

Be certain, be certain, good master Hales! that all the hairs of your head, your dear Father hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish: your name is written in the book of life. Therefore upon God cast all your care,

See
Appendix.

- (1) 'Colleth,' that is, 'embraces.'—ED.
 (2) Isaiah xlii. (3) "Ne abscondas faciem tuam à me," etc. Psalm xxv.
 (4) "Ne derelinquas me Domine," etc. Psalm xxvii. and cxix.
 (5) "Ego dixi in excessu meo, projectus sum à facie tua," Psalm xxx.
 (6) "Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?" Psalm xxi.
 (7) "Ut quid derelinquis?" Psalm xxii. (8) "Derelinques?" (9) "Ut quid dereliquisti?"
 (10) "Nunquid nescis?" (11) "An non audivisti?" etc.
 (12) "Qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem."
 (13) "Noli timere," etc. "Ad punctum enim, in modico dereliqui te, at in miserationibus magnis congregabo te. In momento indignationis abscondi faciem meam parumper à te, at in misericordia sempiterna misertus sum tui, dicit Redemptor tuus Dominus. Nam istud erit mihi sicut aquæ Noe. Ut enim juravi ne porro aquæ Noe pertransirent terram, sic juravi ut non irascar tibi et non recedat à te, et fœdus pacis meæ non movebitur, dicit miserator tuus Dominus."
 (14) "Portare iram Domini, et expectare salutem et auxilium ejus." Micah vii.
 (15) "Adjutor in tribulationibus."
 (16) "Quo infirmiores sumus, eo sumus in illo robustiores." (17) "Sic oculi Domini," etc.
 (18) "Voluntatem eorum faciet," Psalm cxlv. (19) "Antequam clamaverint, exaudivit eos."

which will comfort you with his eternal consolations, and make you able to go through the fire (if need be), which is nothing to be compared to the fire wherein our enemies shall fall and lie for ever, from the which the Lord deliver us, though it be through temporal fire; which must be construed according to the end and profit that cometh after it: so shall it then not much fear us to suffer it for our master Christ's cause, the which the Lord grant us for his mercy's sake: Amen.

From the King's Bench,

Your humble John Bradford.

To my very Friend in the Lord, Dr. Hill, Physician.

The God of mercy and Father of all comfort, at this present and for ever, ingraft in your heart the sense of his mercy in Christ, and the continuance of his consolation, which cannot but enable you to carry with joy whatsoever cross he shall lay upon you: Amen.

Hitherto I could have no such liberty as to write unto you, as I think you know: but now, in that through God's providence I have no such restraint, I cannot but something write, as well to purge me of the suspicion of unthankfulness towards you, as also to signify my carefulness for you in these perilous days; lest you should wax cold in God's cause (which God forbid), or suffer the light of the Lord, once kindled in your heart, to be quenched, and so become as you were before, after the example of the world, and of many others, which would have been accounted otherwise in our days, and yet still beguile themselves, still would be so accounted: although by their outward life they declare the contrary, in that they think it enough to keep the heart pure, notwithstanding that the outward man doth curry favour.

In which doings, as they deny God to be jealous, and therefore requiring the whole man, as well body as soul, being both create as to immortality and society with him, so redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, and now sanctified by the holy Spirit to be the temple of God, and member of his Son: as (I say) by their parting stake to give God the heart, and the world the body, they deny God to be jealous (for else they would give him both, as the wife would do to her husband whether he be jealous or no, if she be honest), so they play the dissemblers with the church of God by their fact, offending the godly whom either they provoke to fall with them, or make more careless and conscienceless if they be fallen, and occasioning the wicked and obstinate to triumph against God, and the more vehemently to prosecute their malice against such as will not defile themselves in body or soul with the Romish rags now received amongst us. Because of this,—I mean, lest you my dear master and brother in the Lord, should do as many of our gossellers do for fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and hath power but of the body, not fearing the Lord, which hath power both of soul and body, and that, not only temporally, but also eternally: I could not but write something unto you, as well because duty serveth it (for many benefits I have received of God by your hands, for the which He reward you, for I cannot), as also because charity and love compelleth me; not that I think you have any need (for as I may rather learn of you, so I doubt not but you have hitherto kept yourself upright from halting), but that I might both quiet my conscience, calling upon me hereabout, and signify unto you by something, my carefulness for your soul, as painfully and often you have done for my body.

Therefore I pray you call to mind, that there be but two masters, two kinds of people, two ways, and two mansion-places. The masters be Christ and Satan, the people be servitors to either of these, the ways be strait and wide, the mansions be heaven and hell. Again, consider that this world is the place of trial of God's people, and the devil's servants: for as the one will follow his master whatsoever cometh of it, so will the other. For a time it is hard to discern who pertaineth to God, and who to the devil: as in the calm and peace, who is a good shipman and warrior, and who is not. But as when the storm ariseth, the expert mariner is known, and as in war the good soldier is seen, so in affliction and the cross, easily God's children are known from Satan's servants. For then, as the good servant will follow his master, so will the godly follow their captain, come what will come: whereas the wicked and hypocrites

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Parting
stakes be-
tween God
and the
world.
Dissem-
bling with
the
church.

Gospel
spillers.

Dr. Hill,
Brad-
ford's
physician.

Two mas-
ters. Two
sorts of
subjects.
Two
ways.
Two king-
doms.

My.

A. D.
1555.

Affliction
trieth who
go with
God, and
who go
with the
devil.

A wise
man will
ever con-
sider the
end.

The glori-
ous re-
compense
of such as
suffer for
the Lord.

The way
to heaven
is by tri-
bulations.

will bid adieu, and desire less of Christ's acquaintance. For which cause the cross is called a probation and trial, because it trieth who will go with God, and who will forsake him. And now in England we see how small a company Christ hath in comparison of Satan's soldiers. Let no man deceive himself: for he that gathereth not with Christ, scattereth abroad. No man can serve two masters; the Lord abhorreth double hearts; the lukewarm (that is, such as are both hot and cold) he spitteth out of his mouth. None that halt on both knees doth God take for his servants. The way of Christ is the strait way; and so strait, that as a few find it, and few walk in it, so no man can halt in it, but must needs go upright: for as the straitness will suffer no reeling to this side or that side, so, if any man halt, he is like to fall off the bridge into the pit of eternal perdition.

Strive therefore, good master doctor, now you have found it, to enter into it: and if you should be called or pulled back, look not on this side or that side, or behind you, as Lot's wife did, but straight forwards on the end which is set before you (though it be to come) as even now present: like as you do and will your patients to do in purgations, and other your ministrations, to consider the effect that will ensue, where-through the bitterness and loathsomeness of the purgation is so overcome, and the painfulness in abiding the working of that is ministered, is so eased, that it maketh the patient willingly and joyfully to receive that [which] is to be received, although it be never so unpleasant: so (I say) set before you the end of this strait way; and then, doubtless, as St. Paul saith, "It shall bring with it an eternal weight of glory, whilst we look not on the thing which is seen, for that is temporal, but on the thing which is not seen, which is eternal."¹ So doth the husbandman, in ploughing and tilling, set before him the harvest-time; so doth the fisher consider the draught of his net, rather than the casting-in; so doth the merchant the return of his merchandize; and so should we in these stormy days set before us not the loss of our goods, liberty, and very life—but the reaping time, the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment; the fire that shall burn the wicked and disobedient to God's gospel; the blast of the trump; the exceeding glory prepared for us in heaven eternally, such as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive. The more we lose here, the greater joy shall we have there: the more we suffer, the greater triumph. For corruptible dross, we shall find incorruptible treasures; for gold, glory; for silver, solace without end; for riches, robes royal; for earthly houses, eternal palaces; mirth without measure, pleasure without pain, felicity endless; *summa*, we shall have God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

O happy place! O that this day would come. Then shall the end of the wicked be lamentable; then shall they receive the just reward of God's vengeance; then shall they cry, "Woe, woe," that ever they did as they have done. Read Wisd. ii. iii. iv. v.: read Matt. xxv.: read 1 Cor. xv. 2 Cor. v.: and by faith (which God increase in us) consider the thing there set forth. And for your comfort, read Heb. xi., to see what faith hath done, always considering the way to heaven to be by many tribulations, and that all they which will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution. You know this is our alphabet: "He that will be my disciple," saith Christ, "must deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me."—Not this bishop, not that doctor; not this emperor, nor that king, but *me*, saith Christ: "For he that loveth father, mother, wife, children, or very life, better than me, is not worthy of me." Remember that the same Lord saith, "He that will save his life shall lose it."² Comfort yourself with this, that as the devils had no power over the porkets, or over Job's goods without God's leave; so shall they have none over you. Remember also, that all the hairs of your head are numbered with God. The devil may make one believe he will drown him, as the sea in his surges threateneth to the land: but as the Lord hath appointed bounds for the one, over the which he cannot pass, so hath He done for the other.

On God therefore cast your care; love him, serve him after his word, fear him, trust in him, hope at his hand for all help, and always pray, looking for the cross; and whencesoever it cometh, be assured, the Lord, as he is faithful, so he will never tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, but in the midst of the temptation will make such an evasion, as shall be most to his

(1) *Aeternum pondus gloriae pariet* "

(2) Matt. viii.

glory and your eternal comfort. God, for his mercy in Christ, with his holy Spirit endue you, comfort you, under the wings of his mercy shadow you, and as his dear child guide you for evermore. To whose merciful tuition, as I do with my hearty prayer commit you; so I doubt not but you pray for me, and so I beseech you to do still. My brother P. telleth me, you would have the last part of St. Jerome's works, to have the use thereof for a fortnight. I cannot for these three days well forbear it, but yet on Thursday next I will send it you, if God let me not; and use me, and that I have, as your own. The Lord for his mercy in Christ direct our ways to his glory.

Out of prison, by yours to command,

John Bradford.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

To Mistress M. H., a godly Gentlewoman, comforting her in that common Heaviness and godly Sorrow, which the feeling and sense of Sin worketh in God's Children.

I humbly and heartily pray the everlasting God and Father of mercy, to bless and keep your heart and mind in the knowledge and love of his truth, and of his Christ, through the inspiration and working of his holy Spirit: Amen.

Although I have no doubt, but that you prosper and go forward daily in the way of godliness, more and more drawing towards perfection, and have no need of any thing that I can write; yet, because my desire is that you might be more fervent, and persevere to the end, I could not but write something unto you, beseeching you both often and diligently to call unto your mind, as a mean to stir you herennto, yea, as a thing which God most straitly requireth you to believe, that you are beloved of God, and that he is your dear father, in, through, and for, Christ and his death's sake. This love and tender kindness of God towards us in Christ is abundantly herein declared, in that he hath, to the godly work of creation of this world, made us after his image; redeemed us being lost; called us into his church; sealed us with his mark and sign manual of baptism; kept and conserved us all the days of our life; fed, nourished, defended, and most fatherly chastised us; and now hath kindled in our hearts the sparkles of his fear, faith, love, and knowledge of his Christ and truth: and therefore we lament, because we lament no more our unthankfulness, our frailness, our diffidence and wavering in things wherein we should be most certain.

God's benefits to be declared.

All these things we should use as means to confirm our faith of this, that God is our God and father, and to assure us that he loveth us as our father in Christ: to this end, I say, we should use the things before touched, especially in that, of all things, God requireth this faith and fatherly persuasion of his fatherly goodness, as his chiefest service. For before he ask any thing of us, he saith, "I am the Lord thy God:" giving himself, and then all he hath, to us, to be our own. And this he doth in respect of himself, of his own mercy and truth, and not in respect of us, for then were grace no grace. In consideration whereof, when he saith, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me," "Thou shalt love me with all thy heart," &c., though of duty we are bound to accomplish all that he requireth, and are culpable and guilty if we do not the same, yet he requireth not these things further of us, than to make us more in love, and more certain of this his covenant, that he is our Lord and God. In certainty whereof, as he hath given this whole world to serve to our need and commodity; so hath he given his Son Christ Jesus, and (in Christ) himself to be a pledge and gage, whereof the Holy Ghost doth now and then give us some taste and sweet smell, to our eternal joy.

The chiefest service of God is to think well of his fatherly goodness in Christ.

Therefore (as I said) because God is our Father in Christ, and requireth of you straitly to believe it, give yourself to obedience; although ye do it not with such feeling as you desire. First must faith go before, and then feeling will follow. If our imperfection, frailty, and many evils, should be occasions whereby Satan would have us to doubt; as much as we can, let us abhor that suggestion, as of all others most pernicious: for so indeed it is. For when we stand in a doubt, whether God be our Father, we cannot be thankful to God; we cannot heartily pray or think any thing we do acceptable to God; we cannot love our neighbours, and give over ourselves to care for them, and do for

Where feeling faileth yet obedience is required.

Doubt not of God's favour in Christ.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.To stay
upon
God's pro-
mise in
Christ's
blood.Obedi-
ence
giveth not
to us to
be God's
children,
but to be
God's
children
giveth
obedi-
ence.How a
man
should
pray,
when
feeling of
God's
comfort
lacketh.Hope be-
yond
hope.
Faith
goeth
before
feeling.Doubting
cometh
of the devil.

them as we should do, and therefore Satan is most subtle hereabout, knowing full well that if we doubt of God's eternal mercies towards us through Christ, we cannot please God, or do any thing as we should do to man. Continually casteth he into our memories our imperfection, frailty, falls, and offences, that we should doubt of God's mercy and favour towards us.

Therefore, my good sister, we must not be sluggish herein, but as Satan laboureth to loosen our faith, so must we labour to fasten it by thinking on the promises and covenant of God in Christ's blood; namely, that God is our God with all that ever he hath: which covenant dependeth and hangeth upon God's own goodness, mercy, and truth only; and not on our obedience or worthiness on any point; for then should we never be certain. Indeed God requireth of us obedience and worthiness, but not that thereby we might be his children, and he our father: but because he is our father and we his children through his own goodness in Christ, therefore requireth he faith and obedience. Now if we want this obedience and worthiness which he requireth, should we doubt whether he be our father? Nay, that were to make our obedience and worthiness the cause, and so to put Christ out of place, for whose sake God is our father: but rather because he is our father, and we feel ourselves to want such things as he requireth, we should be stirred up to a shamefacedness and blushing, because we are not as we should be: and thereupon should we take occasion to go to our father in prayer on this manner:

"Dear Father, thou, of thine own mercy in Jesus Christ, hast chosen me to be thy child, and therefore thou wouldest I should be brought into thy church and faithful company of thy children; wherein thou hast kept me hitherto: thy name therefore be praised. Now I see myself to want faith, hope, love, etc. which thy children have and thou requirest of me, where-through the devil would have me to doubt, yea utterly to despair of thy fatherly goodness, favour, and mercy. Therefore I come to thee as to my merciful Father, through thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and pray thee to help me, good Lord: help me, and give me faith, hope, love, etc., and grant that thy holy Spirit may be with me for ever, and more and more to assure me that thou art my Father; that this merciful covenant that thou madest with me in respect of thy grace in Christ and for Christ, and not in respect of any my worthiness, is always true to me," etc.

On this sort, I say, you must pray and use your cogitations, when Satan would have you to doubt of salvation. He doth all he can to prevail herein. Do you all you can to prevail herein against him. Though you feel not as you would, yet doubt not, but hope beyond all hope, as Abraham did: for faith always (I said) goeth before feeling. As certain as God is almighty; as certain as God is merciful; as certain as God is true; as certain as Jesus Christ was crucified, is risen, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; as certain as this is God's commandment: "I am the Lord thy God," etc., so certain ought you to be that God is your Father. As you are bound to have no other gods but him, so are ye no less bound to believe that God is your God. What profit should it be to you to believe this to be true, "I am the Lord thy God," to others, if you should not believe that this is true to yourself? The devil believeth on this sort. And whatsoever it be that would move you to doubt of this—whether God be your God through Christ—that same cometh undoubtedly of the devil. Wherefore did he make you, but because he loved you? Might not he have made you blind, deaf, lame, frantic, etc.? might not he have made you a Jew, a Turk, a papist, etc.? And why hath he not done so? Verily because he loved you. And why did he love you? What was there in you to move him to love you? Surely nothing moved him to love you, and therefore to make you, and so hitherto to keep you, but his own goodness¹ in Christ. Now then, in that his goodness in Christ still remaineth as much as it was—that is, even as great as himself, for it cannot be lessened—how should it be but that he is your God and Father? Believe this, believe this, my good sister, for God is no changeling. "Them whom he loveth, he loveth to the end."

Cast therefore yourself wholly upon him, and think without all wavering that you are God's child, that you are a citizen of heaven, that you are the daughter of God, the temple of the Holy Ghost, etc. If hereof you be assured as you

ought to be, then shall your conscience be quieted, then shall you lament more and more that you want many things which God loveth; then shall you labour to be holy in soul and body; then shall you go about that God's glory may shine in you, in all your words and works; then shall you not be afraid what man can do unto you; then shall you have wisdom to answer your adversaries, as shall serve to their shame, and your comfort; then shall you be certain that no man can touch one hair of your head further than shall please your good Father, to your everlasting joy; then shall you be most certain, that God as your good Father will be more careful for your children, and make better provision for them, if all you have were gone, than you can; then shall you (being assured, I say, of God's favour towards you) give over yourself wholly to help and care for others that be in need; then shall you condemn this life, and desire to be at home with your good and sweet Father; then shall you labour to mortify all things that would spot either soul or body. All these things spring out of this certain persuasion and faith, that God is our Father, and we are his children by Christ Jesus. All things should help our faith herein; but Satan goeth about in all things to hinder us.

Therefore let us use earnest and hearty prayer; let us often remember this covenant—"I am the Lord thy God;" let us look upon Christ and his precious blood shed for the oblation and confirmation of his covenant; let us remember all the free promises of the gospel; let us set before us God's benefits generally in making this world, in ruling it, in governing it, in calling and keeping his church, etc. Let us set before us God's benefits particularly—how he hath made his creatures after his image, how he made us of perfect limbs, form, beauty, memory, etc.; how he hath made us Christians, and given us a right judgment in his religion; how he hath, ever since we were born, blessed, kept, nourished, and defended us; how he hath often beaten, chastised, and fatherly corrected us; how he hath spared us, and doth now spare us, giving us time, space, place, grace. This if you do, and use earnest prayer, and so flee from all things which might wound your conscience, giving yourself to diligence in your vocation, you shall find at the length (which God grant to me with you) a sure certainty of salvation, without all such doubt as may trouble the peace of conscience, to your eternal joy and comfort. Amen, Amen.

Yours to use in Christ,

J. Bradford.

Another Letter full of godly Comfort, written to the same Person.

The good Spirit of God which guideth his children, be with you, my good sister in the Lord for ever. Amen.

Although, as I to you, so you unto me in prison are unknown, yet to him whom we desire to please, we are not only in persons, but also in hearts known and thoroughly seen: and therefore as for his sake you would, by that you sent, of me be perceived how that in God you bear to me a good will; so that I to you might be seen in God to bear you the like, I send to you these few words in writing, wishing that in all your doings and speech, yea even in your very thoughts, you would labour to feel that they are all present and open before the sight of God, be they good or bad. This cogitation often had in mind, and prayer made to God for the working of his Spirit, thereby, as a mean, you shall at the length feel more comfort and commodity, than any man can know, but such as be exercised therein. Howbeit this is to be added, that in thinking yourself, and all that you have and do, to be in the sight of God; this (I say) is to be added, that you think his sight is the sight not only of a Lord, but rather of a Father, which tendereth more your infirmities, than you can tender the infirmities of any your children. Yea, when in yourself you see a motherly affection to your little one that is weak, let the same be unto you a trace to train you to see the unspeakable kind affection of God your Father towards you.

And therefore upon the consideration of your infirmities and natural evils, which continually cleave unto us, take occasion to go to God as your Father through Christ: and before his merciful heart lay open your infirmities and evils, with desire of pardon and help after his good will and pleasure: but in *his* time, and not when *you* will; and by what means *he* will, not by that way

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Faith and assured hope of God's favour, is the fountain of all well-doing.

Consideration of God's promises and benefits.

Consideration of God's tender affection to us in Christ his Son.

No time nor means to be prescribed to God.

*Mary.**A.D.**1555.*

you would ; in the mean season hang on hope of his fatherly goodness, and surely you shall never be ashamed. For if a woman that is natural, cannot finally forget the child of her womb, be sure God, which is a Father supernatural, cannot, nor will not forget you. Yea if a woman could be so forgetful, yet God himself saith, he will not be so.¹

The practice of the devil to bring a man in doubt whether he be God's child or no.

This opinion, yea rather certain persuasion, of God your Father through Christ, see that you cherish ; and by all means, as well by diligent consideration of his benefits, as of his loving corrections, whether they be inward or outward, see that you nourish ; knowing for certain, that as the devil goeth about nothing so much as to bring you in a doubt whether ye be God's child or no : so whatsoever shall move you to admit that dubitation, be assured the same to come from the devil. If you feel in yourself not only the want of good things, but also plenty of evil, do not therefore doubt whether you be God's child in Christ, or no. For if for your goodness or illness' sake, which you feel or feel not, ye should believe or doubt, then should you make Christ Jesus, for whose sake only God is your Father, either nothing, or else but half Christ.² But rather take occasion of your wants in good, and of your plenty in evil, to go to God as to your Father, and to pray to him, that inasmuch as he commandeth you to believe that he is your God and Father ; so he would give you his good Spirit, that you might feel the same, and live as his child, to his glory : and cease not upon such prayers to look for comfort in God's good time, still hoping the best, and rejecting all dubitation, and so all evil works, words, and cogitations, as the Lord shall enable you by his good Spirit and grace, which I beseech him to give unto you, my good sister, for ever. And further I pray you, that as he hath made you to be a helper unto your husband, so you would endeavour yourself therein to show the same as well in soul as body ; and beg grace of God, that your endeavours may be effectual to both your comforts in Christ. Amen.

John Bradford.

To my well-beloved in the Lord, W. P.

Grace and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ Amen.

Dear brother, God most justly hath cast me down into a dungeon, but much better than I deserve ; wherein I see no man but my keeper, nor can see any except they come to me. Something in the earth my lodging is, which is an example and memorial of my earthly affections (which God I trust will mortify), and of my sepulchre, wherunto I trust my Lord God will bring me in peace in his good time. In the mean season he give me patience, lively hope, and his good Spirit. I pray you pray for me ; for the prayer of the godly, if it be fervent, worketh much with God. I thank God my common disease³ doth less trouble me than when I was abroad, which doth teach me the merciful providence of God towards me. Use true and hearty prayer, and you shall perceive God at length will declare himself to see, where now many think he sleepeth.

Out of the Tower, by the Lord's prisoner,

John Bradford.

A Letter which he wrote to a faithful Woman in her Heaviness and Trouble : most comfortable for all those to read that are afflicted and broken-hearted for their Sins.

See Appendix.

God our good Father, for his mercy's sake in Christ, with his eternal consolation so comfort you, as I desire to be comforted of him in my most need : yea, he will comfort you, my dear sister ; only cast your care upon him, and he never can nor will forsake you ; for his calling and gifts be such, that he can never repent him of them.⁴ Whom he loveth, he loveth to the end : none of his chosen can perish ; of which number I know you are, my dearly beloved

(1) Isaiah xlix.

(2) We ought to measure God's favour neither by our goodness nor illness, but only by our faith in Christ.

(3) This disease was a rheum, with a feebleness of stomach, wherewith he was much troubled while he was at liberty.

(4) Rom. xi.

sister : God increase the faith thereof daily more and more in you ! he give unto you to hang wholly on him and on his providence and protection ! For whoso dwelleth under that secret thing, and help of the Lord,¹ he shall be cock-sure for evermore. He that *dwelleth*, I say ; for if we be flitters and not dwellers, as was Lot a flitter from Segor,² where God promised him protection, if he had dwelled there still : we shall remove to our loss, as he did into the mountains.

Dwell therefore, that is, trust, and that finally unto the end, in the Lord, my dear sister, and you shall be as Mount Sion. As mountains compass Jerusalem, so doth the Lord all his people. How then can he forget you, which are as the apple of his eye, for his dear Son's sake ? Ah ! dear heart, that I were now but one half hour with you, to be a Simon to help carry your cross with you. God send you some good Simon to be with you, and help you.

You complain in your letters of the blindness of your mind, and the troubles you feel. My dearly beloved, God make you thankful for that which God hath given unto you ; he open your eyes to see what and how great benefits you have received, that you may be less covetous, or rather impatient ; for so (I fear me) it should be called, and more thankful. Have you not received at his hands sight to see your blindness, and thereto a desirous and seeking heart to see where he lieth in the mid-day, as his dear spouse speaketh of herself in the Canticles ? Oh, Joyce ! my good Joyce ! what a gift is this ! Many have some sight, but none this sobbing and sighing : none this seeking which you have, I know, but such as he hath married unto him in his mercies. You are not content to kiss his feet with the Magdalen, but you would be kissed even with the kiss of his mouth.³ You would see his face with Moses, forgetting how he biddeth us seek his face,⁴ yea, and that for ever,⁵ which signifieth no such sight, as you desire to be in this present life, which would see God now face to face ; whereas he cannot be seen, but covered under something ; yea, sometimes in that which is (as you would say) clean contrary to God ; as to see his mercy in his anger. In bringing us to hell, faith seeth him to bring us to heaven : in darkness it beholdeth brightness : in hiding his face from us, it beholdeth his merry countenance. How did Job see God, but as (you would say) under Satan's cloak ? for who cast the fire from heaven upon his goods ? who overthrew his house, and stirred up men to take away his cattle, but Satan ? and yet Job pierced through all these, and saw God's work, saying, "The Lord hath given, the Lord hath taken away," etc.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

God cannot be seen, but covered under something. How faith seeth God, where flesh seeth hell.

In reading of the Psalms, how often do you see that David in the shadow of death saw God's sweet love ? And so, my dearly beloved, I see that you, in your darkness and dimness, by faith do see charity and brightness : by faith, I say, because faith is of things absent, of things hoped for, of things which I appeal to your conscience, whether you desire not. And can you desire any thing which you know not ? And is there of heavenly things any other true knowledge than by faith ?

Therefore, my dear heart, be thankful ; for (before God I write it) you have great cause. Ah ! my Joyce, how happy is the state wherein you are ! Verily you are even in the blessed state of God's children, for they mourn ; and do not you so ? And that not for worldly weal, but for spiritual riches, faith, hope, charity, etc. Do you not hunger and thirst for righteousness ? And I pray you, saith not Christ, who cannot lie, that happy are such ? How should God wipe away the tears from your eyes in heaven, if now on earth ye shed no tears ?⁶ how could heaven be a place of rest, if on earth you'd find it ? how could ye desire to be at home, if in your journey you found no grief ? how could ye so often call upon God, and talk with him, as I know you do, if your enemy should sleep all day long ? how should you elsewhere be made like unto Christ, I mean in joy, if in sorrow you sobbed not with him ? If you will have joy and felicity, you must first needs feel sorrow and misery : if you will go to heaven, you must sail by hell : if you will embrace Christ in his robes, you must not think scorn of him in his rags : if you will sit at Christ's table in his kingdom, you must first abide with him in his temptations : if you will drink of his cup of glory, forsake not his cup of ignominy.

The state of God's children described.

The way to heaven is through hell.

(1) God's providence and protection. Psal. xxxi. 90.

(2) Gen. xix.

(3) Canticles i.

(4) Psalm xxvii

(5) Psalm cv.

(6) Matt. v.

Can the head corner-stone be rejected, and the other more base stones in

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Threats
of the
flesh.God's
sheep
must feed
on the
bare com-
mon,
where the
devil's
cattle are
stalled.Phil. i.
Desire of
spiritual
comfort,
though it
be lack-
ing, is a
great gift
of God.Exercise
of tempta-
tions a
great
token of
election.Every
lying spir-
it not to
be heark-
ened
unto.See
Appendix.All our
elections
in and
for Christ
only.

God's building be in this world set by? You are one of his lively stones—be content therefore to be hewn and snagged at, that you might be made more meet to be joined to your fellows which suffer with you Satan's snatches, the world's wounds, contempt of conscience, and fretts of the flesh, where-through they are enforced to cry, Oh wretches that we are! who shall deliver us?¹ you are of God's corn, fear not therefore the flail, the fan, millstone, nor oven. You are one of Christ's lambs, look therefore to be fleeced, haled at, and even slain.

If you were a market-sheep, you should go in more fat and grassy pasture; if you were for the fair, you should be stall-fed, and want no weal: but, because you are for God's own occupying, therefore you must pasture on the bare common, abiding the storms and tempests that will fall. Happy, and twice happy are you, my dear sister, that God now halleth you whither you would not, that you might come whither you would.² Suffer a little, and be still. Let Satan rage against you; let the world cry out; let your conscience accuse you; let the law load you and press you down; yet shall they not prevail, for Christ is Emmanuel, that is, God with us. "If God be with us, who can be against us?"³ The Lord is with you; your Father cannot forget you; your spouse loveth you. If the waves and surges arise, cry with Peter, "Lord, I perish;"⁴ and he will put out his hand and help you. Cast out your anchor of hope, and it will not cease, for all the stormy surges, till it take hold on the rock of God's truth and mercy.

Think not that he which hath given you so many things corporally; as inductions of spiritual and heavenly mercies (and that, without your deserts or desire), can deny you any spiritual comfort, desiring it. For if he give to desire, he will give you to have and enjoy the thing desired. The desire to have, and the going about to ask, ought to certify your conscience, that they be his earnest of the thing which, you asking, he will give you; yea, before you ask, and whilst you are about to ask, he will grant the same, as Isaiah saith, to his glory, and your eternal consolation. He that spared not his own Son for you, will not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily beloved.

If he had not chosen you (as most certainly he hath), he would not have so called you; he would never have justified you; he would never have so glorified you with his gracious gifts,⁵ which I know, praised be his name therefore; he would never have so exercised your faith with temptations, as he hath done and doth; if, I say, he had not chosen you. If he hath chosen you (as doubtless, dear heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where, and when), if, I say, he have chosen you, then neither can you, nor shall you ever perish. For if you fail, he putteth under his hand; you shall not lie still; so careful is Christ your keeper over you. Never was mother so mindful over her child, as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

Speak woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he, now trow you, in your utmost need do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah, my Joyce! think you God to be mutable? is he a changeling? doth not he love to the end them whom he loveth? are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them?⁶ For else, were he no God. If you should perish, then wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit, which is the Spirit of truth, told you so? and will you now hearken with Eve to the lying spirit, which would have you not to despair (no, he goeth more craftily to work; howbeit to that end, if you should give ear unto it; which God forbid), but to doubt, and stand in a mammering; and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for your unworthiness and unthankfulness; as though your thankfulness or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.⁷

Ah! mine own dear heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his mercy and truth. In him is the cause of your election. This Christ, this mercy, this truth of God, remaineth for ever, is certain for ever, and so is your election certain for ever, for ever I say, for ever. If an angel from heaven should tell you contrary,

(1) Rom. vi.

(2) John xxi.

(3) Rom. viii.

(4) Matt. viii.

(5) Rom. viii.

(6) Rom. xi.

(7) Satan seeketh to bring tender consciences to doubting, but God's promise in Christ standeth sure for ever.

accursed be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your election; they are no causes. These fruits and effects shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you waver not.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, arise; and remember from whence you are fallen. You have a shepherd which never slumbereth nor sleepeth;¹ no man nor devil can pull you out of his hands; night and day he commandeth his angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd, I can want nothing?"² Do you not know that God sparred Noah in the ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you, my good sister; so hath he done to you. Ten thousand shall fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand; yet no evil shall touch you.³ Say boldly therefore, "Many a time from my youth up have they fought against me; but they have not prevailed;"⁴ no, nor ever *shall* prevail, for the Lord is round about his people. And who are the people of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those, my dear heart; for I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to show most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly: I need not to say, that even before God you have simply confessed to me, and that oftentimes, no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me, my dear heart, who hath so weakened you? Surely not a persuasion which came from him that called you: for why should you waver? Why should you waver and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On yourself? on your worthiness, on your thankfulness? on that which God requireth of you, as faith, hope, love, fear, joy, etc.? Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requireth? Believe you, hope you, love you, etc., as much as you should do? No, no; nor ever can in this life. Ah! my dearly beloved, have you so soon forgotten that, which ever should be had in memory? namely, that when you would and should be certain and quiet in conscience, then should your faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in heaven, earth, or hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal sweet mercies and goodness of God in Christ. Here, here is the resting-place, here is your spouse's bed; creep into it, and in your arms of faith embrace him; bewail your weakness, unworthiness, your diffidence, etc., and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I? you shall see. Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that Moses, when he went to the mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark cloud, and Elias had his face covered when God passed by. Both these dear friends of God heard God, but they saw him not; but you would be preferred before them. See now, my dear heart, how covetous you are. Ah! be thankful, be thankful. But, God be praised, your covetousness is Moses' covetousness. Well, with him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of seeing, but as it were in a glass. Isaac was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore, to make an end of these many words, wherewith I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercises; inasmuch as you are indeed the child of God, elect in Christ before the beginning of all times; inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels; inasmuch as Christ is faithful, and hitherto hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no, one hair of your head shall not be lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you; I crave at your hands with all my very heart; I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind; in Christ, through Christ, for Christ; for his name, blood, mercies, power, and truth's sake, my most entirely beloved sister, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel yourself;⁵ but to complain to God, and crave of him, as of your tender and dear Father, all things; and, in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any creature can conceive, to your eternal joy. Amen, Amen, Amen.

The good Spirit of God always keep us as his dear children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dearly beloved, for evermore: Amen.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Though
feeling
fail, yet
let hope
hold fast.

The eye of
faith must
look upon
nothing
else but
only
Christ
crucified.

(1) Psal. cxx.

(2) Psal. xxiii.

(3) Psal. xc.

(4) Psal. cxxv.

(5) Learn here to put away doubting; all tender hearts that seek after Christ.

Mary.

I break up thus abruptly, because our common prayer-time calleth me. The peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever : Amen.

*A. D.**1555.*

As for the report of W. Po. if it be as you hear, you must prepare to hear it. It is written on heaven's door, "Do well, and hear evil." Be content therefore to hear whatsoever the enemy shall imagine to blot you withal. God's Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you: Amen, Amen.

This 8th of August, by him that in the Lord desireth to you as well and as much felicity, as to his own heart.

John Bradford.

Commenda-
tion of
lady
Vane.

Here followeth another letter of his, written to the good lady Vane, wherein he resolveth certain questions which she demanded. This lady Vane was a special nurse, and a great supporter (to her power) of the godly saints, which were imprisoned in queen Mary's time : unto whom divers letters I have both of masters Philpot, Carless, Trahern, Thomas Rose, and of others more : wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony, also, of her Christian zeal towards God's afflicted prisoners, and to the verity of his gospel. She departed of late at Holborn, anno 1568, whose end was more like a sleep than any death ; so quietly and meekly she deceased and parted hence in the Lord.¹

Amongst others who wrote unto her, master Bradford also sent these letters to the said lady ; the tenor whereof here followeth.

To my good Lady Vane.

A Letter
wherein
he dis-
cusseth
doubts
concern-
ing the
coming to
mass.
The abo-
mination
of the
mass set
forth.

The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost : Amen.

I most heartily thank you, good madam, for your comfortable letters ; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions ; the truth is that the questions are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered ; I mean until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pithy places gathered out of God's book, that there was never thing upon the earth so great, and so much an adversary to God's true service, to Christ's death, passion, priesthood, sacrifice and kingdom, to the ministry of God's word and sacraments, to the church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godliness of life, as that is whereof the questions² arise (as most assuredly it is indeed), then cannot a Christian heart but so much the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

Again, your ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of ourselves, in respect of avoiding Christ's cross : so the end of all our doings should be to God-ward, to his glory, to our neighbours, to edification and good example ; whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth the more consideration or explication ; as I doubt not of the one in you, so from me, by God's grace, you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little book³ of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently ; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear child, with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and rejoice in him and with his church, to carry Christ's cross, if he

(1) Note, how God commonly rewardeth the helpers and friends of his saints.

(2) The-e questions were concerning the mass, wherein the lady Vane desireth his judgment.

(3) He meaneth his book, which he calleth "The Hurt of hearing Mass."

shall so think it need :¹ which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's word, and tried them by that touch-stone.

If you be accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, and not after their present appearance only; if you use yourself to set God's presence, power, and mercy, always before your eyes, to see them, as God by every creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find such strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever: Amen.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Another Letter to the Lady Vane.

As to mine own soul, I wish to your ladyship grace and mercy from God, our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his fatherly correction in us both: I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean, his fatherly love; and grant that I may with you feel the same in such degree as may please him; I will not say as you feel, lest I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised (as you long have been), than others which, to the face of the world, have a more show and appearance. Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your letters do well espy; which is indeed the high-way, whereby as God increaseth his gifts, so sheweth he more lively his salvation.² I have received God's blessing from you, the which I have partly distributed unto my three fellow-prisoners, master Ferrar, master Taylor, master Philpot; and the residue I will bestow upon four poor souls which are imprisoned in the common gaol for religion also. As for mine own part, if I had need, I would have served my turn also: but, because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your almoner in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready to show my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us shortly, for his mercy's sake: Amen.

Good madam, be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer; continue in reading and hearing God's word, and if God's further cross come, as therein God doth serve his providence (for else it shall not come unto you), so be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort: Amen.

John Bradford.

To my dear Friends and Brethren, Royden and Elsing, with their
Wives and Families.

The comfort of Christ—felt commonly of his children in their cross for his sake—the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good brethren, and in the hearts of both your yoke-fellows; especially of good Mary, my good sister in the Lord: Amen.

If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the gospel's sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you (as he will doubtless for his mercy's sake, if you hope in him—for this bindeth him, as David in Christ's person witnesseth: "Our fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them,"³ etc.), yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the time of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this realm most justly for our sins, and abusing the light lent us of the Lord, to the setting-forth of ourselves more than God's

(1) 1 Pet. i.

(2) Psalm l. cvii.

(3) Psalm xxii.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The nearer we come to our journey's end, travelling to heaven, the straiter is the way. Example of the travail of a woman.

Example of Christ and his apostles.

glory, that as well we might be brought into the better knowledge of our evils, and so heartily repent (which God grant us to do), as also we might have more feeling and sense of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting of us, thereby to make us as more desirous of him, so him more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work sensibly in all our hearts, for God's holy name's sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write (the Lord be praised), and hearing of you as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had heard nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary), and to go on forwards in the way of God whereinto you are entered, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax strait to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travail of a woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so it goeth with us in the Lord's way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.¹

Example hereof we have, I will not say, in the holy prophets and apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whither they would, but when they waxed old, they went girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man; but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can something abide a man to begin well, and set forwards; but, rather than he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

The malice of the devil no new thing.

Therefore as we should not be dismayed now at this world, as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that we have professed no less, but to forsake the world and the devil as God's very enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to God's school, than to deny ourselves, and take up our cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us: as (I say) we should not be dismayed, so we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we set before us as present the time to come, like as the wife in her travail doth the deliverance of her child, and as the saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the apostle saith, "He set before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore contemned the shame and sorrow of the cross:"² so if we did, we should find at the length as they found. For whom would it grieve, which hath a long journey, to go through a piece of foul way, if he knew that, after that, the way should be most pleasant, yea the journey should be ended, and he at his resting place most happy? Who will be afraid, or loath to leave a little pelf for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his wife, children, or friends, etc., when he knoweth he shall shortly after be associated unto them inseparably, even after his own heart's desire? Who will be sorry to forsake this life, which cannot but be most certain of eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the body? Who can love this life, but they that regard not the life to come? Who can desire the dross of this world, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in heaven? I mean, who is afraid to die, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow.³ And is he not true? How can he but be true? for guile was never found in his mouth.⁴

Godly counsel stirring us to the contempt of this transitory life.

The flattering promises of this world, ill-favouredly perceived.

Alas! then, why are we so slack and slow, yea hard of heart to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are so ready to believe the world promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both knees, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many other things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or, if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? or, if so, how long I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to die shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to die for God's cause? What way is so sure a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christ's cause? If there be any way on horseback to heaven,

(1) John xxi.

(2) Heb. xii.

(3) Matt. xix.

(4) 1 Pet. ii.

surely this is the way. "By many troubles," saith the apostle, "we must enter into heaven."¹ "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution."² For the world cannot love them that are of God; the devil cannot love his enemies; the world will love none but his own: but you are Christ's, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall God's true servants find peace and favour in antichrist's regiment.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for God's cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in heaven, though in earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past; you are almost in the haven. Hale on apace, I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast yourselves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you, nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear; yea in the midst of the temptation, he will make an outscape. Now pray unto him heartily; be thankful of his indignation; rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive; and be mindful of us which are in the vaward, and by God's grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the ice before you, that you following, may find the way more easy.—God grant it may so be: Amen, Amen.

Out of prison, by your brother in Christ, John Bradford.

To Mrs. Wilkinson.

Almighty God, our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good mother and dear mistress in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days, as necessary unto us; so profitable, if we persist unto the end, which thing God grant to us: Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing to write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing,—I mean, to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare, as you see. But now, if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare,—I mean to call you forth as a martyr, and a witness against this filth,—I hope you will become doubly thankful. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be so lost: "Except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless."

You know that he which was rapt into the third heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, "That as the corn liveth not, except it be dead and cast into the earth, so truly our bodies."³ And therefore the cross should so little fear us, that even death itself should altogether be desired of us; as the tailor which putteth off our rags, and arrayeth us with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption, and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of God should desire, yea groan in their kind for our liberty,⁴ and we ourselves to loathe it; as doubtless we do, if for the cross, yea for death itself, we with joy swallow not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lord's calling, and obeying the Lord's providence; whereby doubtless all crosses, and death itself doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear mother, that this providence stretcheth itself so unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare ourselves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer ourselves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be careful for us, and all we have, as for his dear children. Be therefore of good cheer, even in the midst of these miseries; be thankful to the Lord, and prepare yourself for a further trial; which if God send you, as I hope, so do you believe that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

To bear
the cross
with courage.

The cross
a great
token of
election.

(1) Acts xiv.

(2) 2 Tim. iii.

(3) 1 Cor. xv.

(4) Rom. viii.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

write, praying God our Father to recompense into your bosom all the good that ever you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always heretofore.

Your own in the Lord, John Bradford.

Another Letter, written to certain godly Persons, encouraging them to prepare themselves with patience to the Cross.

Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, thy dearly-beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit, to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words, and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever : Amen.

In my last letter you might perceive my conjecturing to be no less towards you, than now I have learned. But, my dearly beloved, I have learned none other thing than before I have told you would come to pass, if ye cast not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your consciences, whether herein I speak truth, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me), as also of your learning. Now God will try you, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others, and, by them which have suffered this day,¹ ye might learn (if already ye had not learned), that life and honour is not to be set by more than God's commandment. They in no point (for all that ever their ghostly fathers could do, having doctor Death to take their part), would consent, or seem to consent, to the popish mass and papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late king they had received. And this their faith they have confessed with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them ; but to our confusion, if we start back from the same. Wherefore I beseech you to consider it as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them ; if God so will.

Doctor
Death,
the pope's
chaplain.

Moses,
forsaking
Pharaoh's
house,
God's
love-
tokens.

A strumpet
set-
teth more
by her
tokens,
than by
her lover.

Gergesites
set
more by
their pigs,
than by
Christ.

Consider not the things of this life, which is a very prison to all God's children ; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind (of faith, I should have said), as Moses did, which set more by trouble with God's people, than by the riches of Egypt and Pharaoh's court. Your house, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens, to admonish you of his love, and to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, whether ye set more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens' sake,—that is, for your home, house, goods, yea life, will go with the world, lest ye should lose them, then be assured, your love, as he cannot but espy it to be a strumpet's love, so will he cast it away with the world. Remember, that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true : but he which adventureth, yea loseth his life, for the gospel's sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that way to salvation, is not the broad way, which many run in ; but the strait way, which few now walk in ?

Before persecution came, men might partly have stood in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us (although by God's word it was plain), whether was the high way (for there were as many that pretended the gospel as popery) : but now the sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken fast root, cannot nor will abide ; and therefore easily ye may see the strait way by the small number that passeth through it. Who will now adventure their goods and life for Christ's sake, which yet gave his life for our sakes ? We are now become Gergesites, that would rather lose Christ than our porkets.³ A faithful wife is never tried so to be, but when she rejecteth and withstandeth wooers. A faithful Christian is then found so to be, when his faith is assaulted.

If we be not able,—I mean, if we will not forsake this world for God's glory and gospel's sake,—trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for nature's sake ? Die ye must once, and leave all ye have (God knoweth how soon and when), will ye or will ye not ; and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now do it for God's sake ?

If ye go to mass, and do as the most part do, then may ye live at rest and quietly ; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your children comfortless, yea lose your life also. But, my dearly beloved, open

(1) The lady Jane and her husband were beheaded that day. [February 12, 1554.—Ed.]

(2) In king Edward's time the highway could not be known.

(3) Matt. viii

the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, see how intolerable the punishment of hell-fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them, world-without-end, which lose either lands or goods for his name's sake. And then do ye reason thus: If we go to mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our children that they may live by hereafter, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites), and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy into eternal misery, first of soul, and then of body, with the devil and all idolaters.

Again, we shall want peace of conscience, which surmounteth all the riches of the world: and for our children, who knoweth whether God will visit our idolatry on them in this life? yea our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be, through many casualties: and when God is angry with us, he can send always, when he will, one mean or another to take all from us for our sins, and to cast us into care for our own sakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

On this sort reason with yourselves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think yourselves unable to abide persecution, be most assured, if so be you purpose not to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God (saith Paul), which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear; yea he will give you an out-scape in the cross, which shall be to your comfort. Think how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you worthy this honour; to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. He might justly cast most grievous plagues upon you, and yet now he will correct you with that rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer yourselves therefore now to be made like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that, which godly ye have of long time professed. Oh! how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose! Oh! how would the papists triumph against God's gospel in you! Oh! how would you confirm them in their wicked popery! Oh! how would the poor children of God be discomforted, if now you should go to mass and other idolatrous service, and do as the world doth!

Hath God delivered you from the sweat, to serve him so? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now, of equity, will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Use prayer, and cast your care upon God; commit your children into his hand; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them, unto you. Say with Job, "God hath given, and God hath taken away: his name be praised for ever." Cast your care upon him, I say, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, that thou wouldest be merciful unto us; comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation: Amen. Pray for me, and I by God's grace will do the same for you.

John Bradford.

An Admonition to certain Professors of the Gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in consenting to the Romish Religion, by the example of other halting and double-faced Gospellers.

The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of God's gospel believed (my dearly beloved) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the Holy Spirit our comforter: Amen.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The transitory pleasures of this life.

God will give ability, not only to bear his cross, but also to rejoice in bearing it.

A great blessing of God to suffer for his sake

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Though I have many lets, presently to hinder me from writing unto you, yet, being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would.

You hear and see how Satan bestirreth him, raging as a roaring lion to devour us. You see and feel partly what storms he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ; I mean his church. You see how terribly he traineth his soldiers, to give a fierce onset on the vaward of God's battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest God's children, and to begin at his house. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

Two things to be considered in the persecution of God's people.

For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well see that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to ourselves after the example of Jonas and David, turning over the wallet, that other men's offences might lie behind, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you all as myself, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his presence, power, anger, mercy, etc.

Earnest repentance maketh the cross more pleasant.

Let us better feel and hate our self-love, security, negligence, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, etc., and then doubtless the cross shall be less careful, yea it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant; death then shall be desired, as the dispatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unspeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the serpent's bites, wherewith he woundeth our heels; that is, our outward Adam and senses. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his poison, we could not but as [we] rejoice over our Captain that hath bruised his head, so be desirous to follow his example; that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and so fill up¹ his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us, to his glory and comfort of his children.

If God's judgment be so sharp to his children, what will it be to his enemies?

Now the second (I mean the sequel, or that which will follow on the strangers), my dearly beloved, let us well look upon. For if so be that God justly do thus give to Satan and his seed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people; oh! what and how justly may he and will he give to Satan, to entreat the reckless and impenitent sinners? If judgments begin thus at God's house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not? Certainly for them is reserved the dregs of God's cup, that is brimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of God's cup of afflictions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, lest they should lose their pigs with the Gergesites.² They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, "Let us cast his yoke from us;" they walk two ways, that is, they seek to serve God and mammon, which is impossible; they will not come nigh the strait way that bringeth to life; they open their eyes to behold present things only; they judge of religion after reason, and not after God's word; they follow the more part, and not the better; they profess God with their mouths, but in their hearts they deny him; or else they would sanctify him by serving him more than men; they part stake with God, which would have all, giving part to the world, to the Romish rout, and anti-christian idolatry now set abroad amongst us publicly; they will have Christ, but none of his cross, which will not be; they will be counted to live godly in Christ, but yet they will suffer no persecution; they love this world, where-through the love of God is driven forth of them; they savour of those things that be of men, and not that be of God: *summa*, they love God in their lips, but in their hearts, yea and in their deeds, deny him, as well by not repenting their evils past, as by continuing in evil still; by doing as the world, the flesh, and the devil willeth; and yet still perchance they will pray, or rather prate, "Thy will be done in earth," which is, generally, that every one should take up his cross and follow Christ. But this is a hard saying: who is able to abide it? Therefore Christ must be prayed to depart, lest all the pigs be drowned. The devil shall have his dwelling again in themselves, rather than in their pigs; and therefore to the devil they shall go, and dwell with him in eternal perdition and

The doings and ways of the wicked described, and what is the end thereof.

damnation, even in hell fire, a torment endless, and above all cogitations incomprehensible, if they repent not.

Wherefore by them, my dearly beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the devil, the world, etc. You promised to fight under Christ's standard. You learned Christ's cross afore you began with A. B. C.—Go to then; pay your vow to the Lord; fight like men, and valiant men, under Christ's standard; take up your cross and follow your Master, as your brethren, masters Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, and Saunders have done, and as now your brethren, masters Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Ferrar, Bradford, Haukes, etc., be ready to do. The ice is broken before you, therefore be not afraid, but be content to die for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt of the doctrine thus declared by the blood of the pastors. Remember that Christ saith, "He that will save his life, shall lose it." And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, etc., and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christ's disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their will, as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing; much more, death for the Lord. If they be blessed that die in the Lord, how shall they be that die for the Lord? Oh! what a blessing is it to have death, due for our sins, diverted into a demonstration and testification of the Lord's truth? O that we had a little of Moses' faith to look upon the end of the cross; to look upon the reward; to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. O let us pray that God would open our eyes to see his hid manna, heavenly Jerusalem, the congregation of his first-born, the melody of the saints, the tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then should we run, and become violent men, and so take the kingdom of heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Christ's sake to see a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us, for his own goodness and truth's sake: Amen.

My dearly beloved, repent, be sober, and watch in prayer; be obedient, and after your vocations show your obedience to the higher powers in all things that are not against God's word; therein acknowledging the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or rebellers for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient sufferers, and the glory and good Spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember us, your afflicted brethren, being in the Lord's bonds for the testimony of Christ, and abiding the gracious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord, for Christ's sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will: Amen.—From the Compter in the Poultry.

Yours in Christ,

John Bradford.

To my good Brother John Careless, Prisoner in the King's Bench.

The Father of mercy and God of all comfort, visit us with his eternal consolation, according to his great mercies in Jesus Christ our Saviour: Amen.

My very dear brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your last letter; the name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and as I have begun, speak still the verity, I must confess, that for mine unthankfulness to you-wards, and to God especially, I have more need of God's merciful tidings, than I had ever heretofore. Ah! that Satan envieth us so greatly. Ah! that our Lord would tread his head under our feet shortly. Ah! that I might for ever both myself beware, and be a godly example to you and others to beware, of unthankfulness. Good brother Careless! we had more need to take heed, after a lightning, of a foil than before: God therefore is to be praised even when he hideth, and that not of long, his cheerful countenance from us, lest we, being not expert how to use it as we should do, do hurt more ourselves thereby; so great is our ignorance and corruption. This, my good brother and right dear to my very heart, I write

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Bradford emboldeneth them to take up Christ's cross, and to follow him.
See Appendix.

Blessed be they that die in the Lord, but more blessed be they that die for the Lord. The end and riches that follow the cross.

After a lightning take heed of a foil.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace; and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by faith we may feel ourselves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel ourselves linked in the same Christ one to another, I to you, and you to me; we to all the children of God, and all the children of God to us: Amen, Amen.

This Skelthrop was a free-will man.

The charitable spirit of master Bradford in reducing them that be weak and ignorant.

Commend me to your good brother Skelthrop, for whom I heartily praise my God, which hath given him to see his truth at length, and to give place to it. I doubt but that he will be so heedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think themselves astray. Wo and wo again should be unto us, if we by our example should make men to stumble at the truth. Forget not salutations in Christ, as you shall think good to Trew, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time, I hope, for them also; although we perchance think otherwise. A drop maketh the stone hollow, not with once, but with often dropping: so if with hearty prayer for them, and good example, you still and drop upon them as you can, you shall see God's work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us all: Amen. I desire you all to pray for me the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

Your brother,

John Bradford.

To Master John Hall and his Wife, Prisoners in Newgate for the Testimony of the Gospel.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dearly beloved, as with his dear children for ever, and so he bless you with his Holy Spirit, that you may in this your cross (for his cause doubtless) rejoice and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard, my good brother and sister, how that God hath brought you both into his school-house (whereas you both purposed, by his leave, to have played the truants), that thereby you might see his carefulness and love towards you. For if it be a token of a loving and careful Father for his children, to prevent the purpose and disappoint the intent of his children, purposing to depart awhile from the school for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of learning which there they might get): how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly carefulness that he beareth towards you? If he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beating, I mean the cross; but then should you have lost the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath he sent to you his cross. He, I say, hath brought you where you be; and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dearly beloved) know for certain that, whatsoever was the mean, God your Father was the worker hereof, and that for your weal. Although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel; yet I say, of truth, that your duty is to think of this cross, that as it is of God's sending, and cometh from him; so, although your deserts be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodity's sake.

What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now kept in close prison, you will say; your family and children be without good overseers; your substance diminisheth by these means; poverty will approach; and perchance more perils also, yea and loss of life too. These are no commodities, but discommodities, and that no small ones; so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this cross, whereby cometh so great discommodities.

Worldly loss recompensed with endless and perpetual gain by the cross.

To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your bodies, families, children, substance, poverty, life, etc., which things, if you would consider awhile with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward, then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now by the inward sense perceive, that you must part from all these and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your cross, to learn to loathe and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in baptism) forsaken the world, and all earthly things; using the world as though

you used it not: your heart set only upon your hoard in heaven, or else you could never be Christ's true disciples, that is, to be saved, and be where he is. And trow you, my good hearts in the Lord, trow you, I say, that this is no commodity, by this cross to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord endless glory? How now doth God, as it were fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in prayer: are these no commodities? Doth not the Scripture say, that "God doth correct us in the world, because we shall not be damned with the world?"—that "God chasteneth every one he loveth?"—that the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness? Doth not the Scripture say, that "they are happy that suffer for righteousness' sake," as you now do?—that the glory and Spirit of God is upon them?—that, as "you are now made like unto Christ in suffering, so shall you be made like him in reigning?" Doth not the Scripture say, that you are now going the high and right way to heaven?—that your suffering, is Christ's suffering? My dearly beloved, what greater commodities than these can a godly heart desire?

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad, when ye suffer as now ye do: for, through the goodness of God, great shall be your reward. Where? Forsooth on earth: first, for your children; for now they are in God's mere and immediate protection. Never was father so careful for his children, as God is for yours presently. God's blessing, which is more worth than all the world, you leave indeed to your children. Though all your providence for them should be pulled away, yet God is not poor; he hath promised to provide for them most fatherly: "Cast thy burden upon me," saith he, "and I will bear it."¹ Do you therefore cast them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will die in your debt. He never yet was found unfaithful, and he will not now begin with you. The good man's seed shall not go a begging his bread; for he will show mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him.² Therefore, as I said, God's reward, first upon earth, shall be felt by your children, even corporally; and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity—at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of conscience: and secondly, after this life you shall find it so plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive, how great and glorious God's reward will be upon your bodies; much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed! Then shall we think the cross, which is a mean hereto, to be commodious. Then shall we thank God, that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David, "Happy am I that thou hast punished me: for before I went astray, but now I keep thy laws."

This that we may do indeed, my dearly beloved, let us first know that our cross cometh from God: secondly, that it cometh from God as a father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore, let us, thirdly, call to mind our sins, and ask pardon; whereto let us, fourthly, look for help certainly at God's hand in his good time: help, I say, such as shall make most to God's glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally. This if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requireth as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who bless us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet cross for ever! Amen, Amen.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, you should be sure thereof, though my life lay thereon; but now I must do as I may, because I cannot as I would. Oh! that it would please our dear Father shortly to bring us where we should never depart, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pray, pray, that it may speedily come to pass—pray! Tomorrow I will send to you to know your estate: send me word what are the chiefest things they charge you withal.—From the Compter.

By your brother in the Lord,

John Bradford.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

What commodity the cross bringeth. Promises annexed to the cross.

Care of children to be left to God's providence.

Two things to be considered of all men that be under the cross.

(1) Psalm lv.

(2) Psalm xxxvii.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

To Mrs. Hall, Prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make Answer before her Adversaries.¹

Our most merciful God and Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and make perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end: Amen.

My dear sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice;² be glad, I say, be merry and thankful, not only because Christ so commandeth us, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lord's witnesses. God the Father hath vouchsafed to choose us amongst many, to witness and testify that Christ his Son is king, and that his word is true. Christ our Saviour, for his love's sake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no usurper nor deceiver of the people, but God's ambassador, prophet, and Messias; so that of all dignities upon earth this is the highest. Greater honour had not his prophets, apostles, nor dearest friends, than to bear witness with Christ, as we now do. The world, following the counsel of their sire Satan, would gladly condemn Christ and his verity; but lo! the Lord hath chosen us to be his champions to let this. As stout soldiers, therefore, let us stand to our Master, who is with us, and standeth on our right hand, that we should not be much moved, if we hope and hang on his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never tempt us further than he will make us able to bear.

Therefore be not careful (for I hear say this day you shall be called forth) what you shall answer. The Lord which is true and cannot lie, hath promised, and will never fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and how to answer, so as shall make his shameless adversaries ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God, who is a helper at a pinch, and a most present remedy to them that hope in him. Never was it ever heard of, or shall be, that any hoping in the Lord was put to foil.

Therefore, as I said, I say again: dear sister, be not only not careful for your answering, but also be joyful for your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of goods and life be like here to ensue; yet if Christ be true (as he is most true), it is otherwise indeed: for he that loseth his life, saith he, winneth it; but he that saveth it, loseth it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God so deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a demonstration of his grace, a testimonial of his verity, a confirmation of his people, and overthrow of his adversaries, what great cause have we to be thankful! Be thankful therefore, good sister, be thankful. Rejoice and be merry in the Lord; be stout in his cause and quarrel; be not faint-hearted, but run out your race, and set your captain, Christ, before your eyes. Behold how great your reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may get the crown. Run to get the game; you are almost at your journey's end. I doubt not but our Father will with us send to you also, as he did to Elias, a fiery chariot,³ to convey us into his kingdom. Let us therefore not be dismayed, to leave our cloak behind us; that is, our bodies to ashes. God will one day restore them to us like to the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is now at hand. Let us look for it, and lift up our heads, for our redemption draweth nigh: Amen, Amen. The Lord of mercy, grant us his mercy: Amen. I pray you, pray for me; and so desire my brethren which be with you. God's peace be with us all: Amen. Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord; then how much more they that die for the Lord?

Your brother in bonds,

J. Bradford.

To a Woman that desired to know his Mind, whether she, refraining from the Mass, might be present at the Popish Matins, or Even-song; or no.

I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be merciful unto us, and to increase in you, my good sister, the knowledge and love of his truth, and at

(1) Strype, in recording the burial of "Old Mrs. Hall, of the parish of St. Benet Sherehog," states that she was the mother of Hall the Chronicler, and that she is supposed to be the same Mrs. Hall "to whom several of the martyrs wrote letters." Memor. under Mary, chap. 49; June 19, 1557.—Ed.

(2) Matt. v.

(3) 2 Kings ii.

The blood of martyrs standeth for the verity of Christ against the world and Satan, who would suppress the same. The Lord will give them that stand in his defence, how and what to answer.

A blessed thing, seeing a man must needs die, to die for the Lord.

this present give me grace so to write to you something of the same, as may make to his glory and our own comfort and confirmation in him, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Whether you may come with safe conscience to the church now, that is, to the service used commonly, in part, as at matins or at evensong, or no, is your desire to have me to write something for your further stay. My dearly beloved, although your benefits towards me might perchance make you to think that in respect thereof I would bear with that which else were not to be borne withal; yet, by God's grace, I am purposed, simply and without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you the truth according to my conscience, as I may be able to stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

First therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ; that is, to deny yourself, and in nothing to seek yourself. Three lessons.

Secondly, learn after this, to begin at the next lesson to it, which is, to seek God in all things you do, and leave undone.

Thirdly, know that then you seek God, when in his service you follow his word, and not man's fantasies, custom, multitude, etc., and when with your brother you follow the rule of charity; that is, To do as you would be done by. In these is a sum of all the counsel I can give you, if that hereto I admonish you of the service now used, which is not according to God's word, but rather against God's word directly, and in manner wholly. So that your going to the service is a declaration that you have not learned the first lesson, nor ever can learn it, so long as you go thither; therefore the second lesson you shall utterly lose, if you cease not the seeking of yourself, that is, if for company, custom, father or friend, life or goods, you seem to allow that which God disalloweth. And this that you the better may perceive, I purpose by God's grace briefly to show.

First, the matins and evensong are in a tongue forbidden publicly to be used in the congregation that perceiveth not the tongue. Read how Paul affirmeth it, to pray in an unknown tongue, to be against God's commandment. This one, I trow, were enough, if nothing else were. For how can God's glory be sought, where his word and commandment are wilfully broken? How can charity to man stand, when charity to God, which is obedience to his word, is overthrown? No Christian may come to the popish matins and evensong.

Again, both in matins and in evensong is idolatry maintained for God's service; for there is invocation and prayer made to saints departed this life, which robbeth God of that glory, which he will give to none other.

Moreover this service, and the setters-forth of it, condemn the English service as heresy, thereby falling into God's curse, which is threatened to all such as call good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be partakers that do communicate with them.

Besides this, this Latin service is a plain mark of Antichrist's catholic synagogue; so that the communicants and approvers of it thereby declare themselves to be members of the same synagogue, and so cut off from Christ and his church, whose exterior mark is the true administration of God's word and sacraments. The pope's Latin service is a mark of Antichrist.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to allow the religion of Antichrist (as doubtless you do indeed, howsoever in heart you think), occasioneth the obstinate to be utterly intractable, the weak papists to be more obstinate, the strong gospellers to be sore weakened, and the weak gospellers to be utterly overthrown: which things, how great offences they be, no pen is able to utter by letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of, that company with those in religion exteriorly, from whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ, follow him: gather with him, lest you scatter abroad. Serve God, not only in spirit, but also in body. Make not your body, now a member of Christ, a member of Antichrist. Come out from amongst them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his truth, not only in heart, but also in tongue; yea, in very deed, which few gospellers do. Indeed they deny him, and therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny them in the last day: the which day, if it were set before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures of this world be but trifles. The going to the pope's service giveth ill example and offence.

Therefore, good sister, often have it before your eyes; daily set yourself

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Whether a Christian may hear the popish matins, or no.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Christ's
lesson.

and your doings as before the judgment-seat of Christ now, that hereafter you be not called into judgment. Think that it will little profit you to win the whole world, and to lose your own soul. Mark Christ's lessons well, "He that will save his life shall lose it." The Father of heaven commandeth you to hear Christ, and he saith, "Follow me:" this can you not do, and follow idolatry or idolaters. "Fly from such," saith the Scripture. This God grant to you, to me, and to all God's children: Amen.

Thus in haste I have accomplished your request. God grant that as you have done me much good bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some good spiritually: Amen. If time would serve, I would have written more at large.—The 2d of March, anno 1555.

To the Worshipful, and in God my most dear Friend, the Lady Vane.

An epistle
concern-
ing the
seat of the
pope's
pretensed
primacy.

The pope
proved to
be the
great An-
tichrist.

The pope
displacing
Christ.

The
word of
Christ to
Peter,
"Feed my
sheep,"
expound-
ed.

The good Spirit of God our Father be more and more plentifully perceived of your good ladyship, through the mediation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ: Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have deserved at my hands the service I can do for you, yet, right worshipful and dearly beloved in the Lord, the true fear of God, and the love of his truth, which I perceive to be in you, specially, and above all other things, do bind me hereunto. This bearer hath told me that your desire is, to have something sent to you concerning the usurped authority of the supremacy of the bishop of Rome (which is undoubtedly that great Antichrist, of whom the apostles do so much admonish us), that you may have as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith to answer the adversaries, because you may perchance therein be something apposed. To satisfy this your desire, I will briefly go about; and so, that I will by God's grace fully set forth the same, to enarm you to withstand the assaults of the papists herein, if you mark well and read over again that which I now write.

The papists do place in pre-eminence over the whole church, the pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is the head of the church, that giveth life to the whole body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member of the same. This they do without all Scriptures: for whereas they bring in this spoken to Peter, "Feed my sheep," I would gladly know whether this was not commanded unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will urge) that he spake to Peter by name, if they had any learning, they would easily perceive how that it was not for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a threefold commandment to restore him to the honour of an apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how dare they interpret this word, "My sheep, my lambs," to be the universal church of Christ? I trow a man might easily, by the like reason,¹ prove that Peter himself had resigned that which Christ had given to him, in exhorting his fellow pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this pretty stuff? Because Christ saith to Peter, "Feed my sheep," therefore he ought to rule the universal and whole church of Christ? If Peter do truly write unto others that they should do the like, that is, feed Christ's flock, either he translateth his right and authority committed to him upon them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them; so that foolishly they go about to establish that which hath no ground. Peter indeed was a shepherd of the sheep, but such a one as bestowed his labour on them so far as he could stretch himself by his ministry. But the papists prate, that he had full power over all churches: wherein they may see Paul to improve them, for else he had done unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, who ever yet read, that Peter did take any thing upon him over churches committed to other men? Was not he sent of the church, and sent as one not having rule over the rest? I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God, and for the excellency of his gifts: whensoever they met together, place therefore was commonly given unto him. But what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head over all the whole church, because he was so over a small congregation?

(1) Argument. Christ, bidding Peter feed his flock, made him head over the universal church; ergo, Peter bidding the pastors feed the flock of Christ, made them also heads over the universal church. Ab una exponente ad suam exclusivam non valet consequentia. Christ made Peter a shepherd: ergo, Christ made Peter only, the chief shepherd of his sheep. Peter was excellent for his gifts, and not for the place where he sat.

But be it so that Peter had as much given to him as they do affirm—who yet will grant that Peter had a patrimony given for his heirs?¹ He hath left (say the papists) to his successors the selfsame right which he received. O Lord God! then must his successor be a Satan: for he received that title of Christ himself. I would gladly have the papists to show me one place of succession mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when Paul purposely painteth out the whole administration of the church, he neither maketh one head, nor any inheritable primacy; and yet he is altogether in commendation of unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Father, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one body of the church, of one faith, and of one baptism: then he describeth the mean and manner how unity is to be kept; namely, because unto every pastor is grace given after the measure wherewith Christ hath endured them. Where I pray you is now any title of “plenitudinis potestatis,” of fulness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a certain measure, why did he not forthwith say one pope? which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been as the papists make it.

But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the church was established in Peter; I would gladly learn why the seat of the primacy should be rather at Rome, than elsewhere. Marry say they, because Peter’s chair was at Rome: this is even like to this, that because Moses the greatest prophet, and Aaron the first priest, exercised their offices unto their death in the desert, therefore the principallest place of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness!² But grant them their reason that it is good; what should Antioch claim? For Peter’s chair was there also, wherein Paul gave him a check, which was unseemly and unmannerly done of Paul, that would not give place to his president and better.

No, say the papists, Rome must have this authority because Peter died there. But what if a man should by probable conjectures show, that it is but a fable which is feigned of Peter’s bishopric at Rome? Read how Paul doth salute very many private persons, when he writeth to the Romans. Three years after his epistle made, he was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he was received of the brethren; and yet in all these, is no mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the pope and prelates be, or else he would have visited Paul! Paul being in prison in Rome did write divers epistles, in which he expresseth the names of many which were, in comparison of Peter, but rascal personages; but of Peter he speaketh never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this silence of him had been suspicious. In the 2d Epistle to Timothy, Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him,³ or Peter had played his Peter’s part.⁴ In another place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whether Peter was at Rome bishop, as they prate: for all this time, and long before, they say that Peter was bishop there.

But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If Rome be the chief seat because Peter died there, why should not Antioch be the second? Why should not James and John, which were taken with Peter to be as pillars? Why, I say, should not their seats have honour next to Peter’s seat? Is not this gear preposterous, that Alexandria, where Mark (which was but one of the disciples) was bishop, should be preferred before Ephesus, where John the Evangelist taught and was bishop; and before Jerusalem, where not only James taught and died bishop, but also Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by whom, being Master, I hope honour should be given to his chair, more than to the chair of his chaplains?

I need to speak nothing how that Paul telleth Peter’s apostleship to concern rather circumcision or the Jews, and therefore properly pertaineth not to us. Neither do I need to bring in Gregory the first, bishop of Rome, which was about the year of our Lord 600, who plainly, in his works, doth write that this

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

No cause why any perpetuity of primacy should belong to Rome more than to other place.

Peter had no bishopric at Rome. Conjecture that Peter was not at Rome.

If Peter’s chair make the primacy; why might not Antioch claim as much as Rome, where he sat first?

(1) Argument. Peter left the title which he received to his successors. Peter received the title of Satan: Ergo, Peter left the title of Satan to his successors. No mention of succession nor primacy inheritable in all the Scripture.

(2) As Peter’s chair was in Rome, so Moses’ chair was in the wilderness: Ergo, the principallest of the Jewish church should be in the wilderness.

(3) Phil. ii.

(4) Luke xxiii.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The title
of pri-
macy a
fore-
token of
Anti-
christ.
How the
title of
primacy
first came
up, and
by whom.
The bi-
shop of
Rome
seemeth
indeed
rather a
butcher
than a
bishop.

If they
will needs
make the
bishop of
Rome the
supreme
head,
they must
first prove
him a
bishop in
deed and
not in
name.

title of primacy, and to be head over all churches under Christ, is a title meet and agreeing only to Antichrist; and therefore he calleth it a profane, a mischievous, and a horrible title. Whom should we believe now, if we will neither believe apostle nor pope?

If I should go about to tell how this name was first gotten by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose, God willing, to set it forth at large in a work which I have begun of Antichrist, if God for his mercy's sake give me life to finish it. For this present therefore I shall desire your ladyship to take this in good part. If they will needs have the bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of the church, then will I urge them that they shall give us a bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a bite-sheep, than a bishop. They brag of Peter's succession, of Christ's vicar: this is always in their mouth. But, alas! how can we call him Christ's vicar that resisteth Christ, oppugneth his verity, persecuteth his people, and, like a prelate, preferreth himself above God and man? How, or wherein, do the pope and Christ agree? How supplieth he Peter's ministry, that boasteth of his succession? Therefore to begin withal, which I will use presently for a conclusion, if the papists will have the bishop of Rome supreme head of the church of Christ in earth, they must, afore they attain this, give us a bishop in deed, and not in name. For whosoever he be, that will make this the bond of unity, whatsoever the bishop of Rome be, surely this must needs follow, that they do nothing else but teach a most wicked defection and departing from Christ.

But of this, if God lend me life, I purpose to speak more at large hereafter. Now will I betake your ladyship unto the tuition of God our Father, and Christ our only head, pastor, and keeper, to whom see that you cleave by true faith, which dependeth only upon the word of God; which if you do follow as a lantern to your feet, and a light to your steps, you shall then avoid darkness, and the dangerous deeps whereinto the papists are fallen by the judgment of God, and seek to bring us into the same dungeon with them; that the blind following the blind, they both may fall into the ditch: out of the which God deliver them according to his good will, and preserve us for his name's sake, that we being in his light, may continue therein, and walk in it whilst it is day! so shall the night never overpress us, we going from light to light, from virtue to virtue, from faith to faith, from glory to glory, by the governance of God's good Spirit, which God our Father give unto us all for ever: Amen.

Your brother in bonds for the testimony of Jesus Christ,

John Bradford.

Here followeth another letter of master Bradford, to one Richard Hopkins,¹ sheriff sometime of Coventry, and yet being (as I hear say) alive. This Hopkins, whom master Bradford commendeth so much in this letter, during the time of his sheriffalty, was detected and accused, by certain malignant adversaries, of matter pertaining to religion. What matter it was, I am not yet certainly informed, unless it were for sending and lending unto a thief, being then in prison ready to be hanged, a certain English book of Scripture for his spiritual comfort.

Whereupon, or else upon some such like matter, he, being maliciously accused, was sent for and committed to the Fleet; and there endured a sufficient time, not without great peril of life. Notwithstanding, the said Hopkins, being at length delivered out of prison, following this counsel of master Bradford, and minding to keep his conscience pure from idolatry, was driven with his wife and eight young children, to avoid the realm; and so, leaving all other worldly respects, with his great loss and damage went into High Germany, where he continued in the city of Basil, till the death of queen Mary; being like a good Tobias, to his power a friendly helper and a comfortable reliever

(1) He wrote also another fruitful letter to this Richard Hopkins, which you may read in the book of Letters of the Martyrs. [See page 264, Edit. 1837.—Ed.]

of other English exiles thereabout him; God's holy blessing so working with him therefore, that in those far countries neither he fell in any great decay, neither any one of all his household, during all that time there, miscarried, but so many as he brought out, so many he recarried home again; yea and that with advantage, and God's plenty withal upon him. Now the letter written to this Richard Hopkins by master Bradford, is this.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

A Letter to Master Richard Hopkins, then Sheriff of Coventry, and Prisoner in the Fleet, for the faithful and constant confessing of God's holy Gospel.

Dearly beloved in the Lord! I wish unto you as unto mine own brother, yea as to mine own heart-root, God's mercy, and the feeling of the same plentifully in Christ our sweet Saviour, who gave himself a ransom for our sins, and price for our redemption; praised therefore be his holy name for ever and ever: Amen.

I will not go about to excuse myself for not sending unto you hitherto, suffering for the Lord's sake as you do, to the comfort of me and all that love you in the truth; but rather accuse myself both before God and you, desiring of you forgiveness, and with me to pray to God for pardon of this my unkind forgetting you, and all other my sins, which I beseech the Lord in his mercy to do away, for his Christ's sake: Amen.

Now to make amends to you-ward, I would be glad if I could: but because I cannot, I shall heartily desire you to accept that will, and this which I shall now write unto you thereafter; I mean, after my will, and not after the deed, to accept and take it. At this present, my dear heart in the Lord, you are in a blessed state, although it seem otherwise to you, or rather unto your old Adam, the which I dare now be so bold as to discern from you, because you would have him not only discerned, but also utterly destroyed. For if God be true, then is his word true.

Now his word pronounceth of your state, that it is happy; therefore it must needs be so. To prove this, I think it need not: for you know that the Holy Ghost saith, "That they are happy which suffer for righteousness' sake, and that God's glory and spirit resteth on them which suffer for conscience to God." Now this you cannot but know, that this your suffering is for righteousness' sake, and for conscience to God-ward: for else you might be out of trouble, even out of hand. I know in very deed, that you have felt and do feel your unthankfulness to God, and other sins, to witness to you, that you have deserved this imprisonment, and lack of liberty, betwixt God and yourself; and I would you so would confess unto God in your prayers, with petition for pardon and thanksgiving, for his correcting you here. But you know that the magistrates do not persecute in you your sins, your unthankfulness, etc.: but they persecute in you Christ himself, his righteousness, his verity. And therefore happy be you that have found such favour with God your Father, as to account you worthy to suffer for his sake in the sight of man; surely you shall rejoice therefore one day with a joy unspeakable, in the sight of man also.

Martyrs
persecuted
not
for their
sins, but
for Christ
only, and
the
gospel.

You may think yourself born in a blessed time, that have found this grace with God, to be a vessel of honour to suffer with his saints, yea with his Son. My beloved, God hath not done so with many. The apostle saith, "Not many noble, not many rich, not many wise in the world, hath the Lord God chosen."¹ Oh then, what cause have you to rejoice, that amongst the not many, he hath chosen you to be one? For this cause hath God placed you in your office, that therefore ye might the more see his special dignation and love towards you. It had not been so great a thing for master Hopkins to have suffered as master Hopkins, as it is for master Hopkins also to suffer as master sheriff. O happy day that you were made sheriff! by the which as God in this world would promote you to a more honourable degree, so, by suffering in this room, he hath exalted you in heaven, and in the sight of his church and children, to a much more excellent glory. When was it read that a sheriff of a city hath suffered

*Marg.**A. D.*
*1555.*Hopkins
the first
magi-
strate
that suf-
fered for
his con-
science.

for the Lord's sake? Where read we of any sheriff that hath been cast into prison for conscience to God-ward? How could God have dealt more lovingly with you, than herein he hath done? To the end of the world it shall be written for a memorial to your praise, that Richard Hopkins, sheriff of Coventry, for conscience to do his office before God, was cast into the Fleet, and there kept prisoner a long time. Happy and twice happy are you, if here-for you may give your life. Never could you have attained to this promotion on this sort, out of that office. How do you preach now, not only to all men, but specially to magistrates in this realm! Who would ever have thought that you should have been the first magistrate that, for Christ's sake, should have lost any thing? As I said before, therefore I say again, that your state is happy. Good brother, before God I write the truth unto you; my conscience bearing me witness, that you are in a most happy state with the Lord, and before his sight.

Be thankful therefore; rejoice in your trouble; pray for patience; persevere to the end; let patience have her perfect work. If you want this wisdom and power, ask it of God, who will give it to you in his good time. Hope still in him; yea if he should slay you, yet trust in him with Job, and you shall perceive that the end will be to find him merciful and full of compassion: for he will not break promise with you, which hitherto did never so with any. He is with you in trouble; he heareth you calling upon him, yea before you call; your desires are not only known, but accepted, through Christ. If now and then he hide his face from you, it is but to provoke your appetite, to make you the more to long for him. This is most true: he is coming, and will come, he will not be long. But if for a time he seem to tarry, yet stand you still, and you shall see the wonderful works of the Lord. Oh beloved! wherefore should you be heavy? Is not Christ Emmanuel, God with us? shall you not find that as he is true in saying, "In the world you shall have trouble;" so is he in saying, "In me you shall have comfort?" He doth not swear only that trouble will come, but withal he sweareth that comfort shall ensue. And what comfort? Such a comfort as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man can conceive.¹ O great comfort! who shall have this? Forsooth they that suffer for the Lord. And are not you one of them? Yea verily are you. Then, as I said, happy, happy, and happy again are you, my dearly-beloved in the Lord. You now suffer with the Lord, surely you shall be glorified with him. Call upon God, therefore, in your trouble, and he will hear you; yea deliver you in such sort, as most shall make both to his and your glory also. And in this calling I heartily pray you to pray for me, your fellow in affliction. Now we be both going in the high way to heaven: for by many afflictions must we enter in thither, whither God bring us for his mercy's sake. Amen, Amen.

Your fellow in affliction,

John Bradford.

To my good Sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Brown.²

Good sister, God our Father make perfect the good he hath begun in you, unto the end.

I am afraid to write unto you, because you so overcharge yourself at all times, even whensoever I do but send to you commendations. I would be more bold on you than many others, and therefore you might suspend so great tokens till I should write unto you of my need; which thing doubtless I would do, if it urged me. Dear sister, I see your unfeigned love to me-ward in God, and have done of long time, the which I do recompense with the like, and will do, by God's grace, so long as I live, and therefore I hope not to forget you, but in my poor prayers to have you in remembrance, as I hope you have me. Otherwise I can do you no service, except it be now and then by my writing, to let you from better exercise; where yet the end of my writing is to excite and stir up your heart more earnestly to go forwards in your well-begun enterprise. For you know none shall be crowned, but such as strive lawfully,³ and none receiveth the gleve,⁴ but those that run to the appointed mark. None shall be saved but such as persist and continue to the very end.

Therefore, dear sister, remember that we have need of patience, that when we have done the good will of God, we may receive the promise.⁵ Patience

⁽¹⁾ 1 Cor. ii.⁽²⁾ Now called Mrs. Rushbrough.⁽³⁾ 2 Tim. ii.⁽⁴⁾ Probably the glaive or lance, fixed in the ground as the mark to run towards in obtaining the prize, and sometimes given as the prize itself: see p. 221, note (1).⁽⁵⁾ Heb. x.

and perseverance be the proper notes, whereby God's children are known from counterfeits. They that persevere not, were always but hypocrites. Many make godly beginnings, yea their progress seemeth marvellous; but yet after, in the end, they fail. "These were never of us," saith St. John; "for if they had been of us, they would have continued unto the very end."

Go to now, therefore, mine own beloved in the Lord: as you have well begun, and well gone forward, so well persist, and happily end; and then all is yours. Though this be sharp and sour, yet it is not tedious and long. Do all that ever you do, simply for God, and as to God; so shall never unkindness, nor any other thing, make you to leave off from well doing, so long as you may do well. Accustom yourself now to see God continually, that he may be all in all unto you. In good things behold his mercy, and apply it unto yourself: in evil things and plagues behold his judgments, where-through learn to fear him. Beware of sin, as the serpent of the soul, which spoileth us of all our ornature and seemly apparel in God's sight. Let Christ crucified be your book to study on, and that both night and day. Mark your vocation, and be diligent in the works thereof. Use hearty and earnest prayer, and that in spirit. In all things give thanks to God our Father through Christ. Labour to have here life everlasting begun in you: for else it will not be elsewhere enjoyed. Set God's judgment often before your eyes, that now examining yourself, you may make diligent suit, and obtain, never to come into judgment. Uncover your evils to God, that he may cover them. Beware of this antichristian trash: defile not yourself in soul or body therewith, but accomplish holiness in the fear of God, and bear no yoke with unbelievers. Look for the coming of the Lord which is at hand; by earnest prayer and godly life hasten it. God our Father accomplish his good work in you. Amen. Commend me to my good mother, mistress Wilkinson, and to my very dear sister mistress Warcup. I shall daily commend you all to God, and I pray you do the like for me.

John Bradford.

To a Friend of his, instructing him how he should answer his Adversaries.

My good brother, our merciful God and dear Father through Christ, open your eyes effectually to see, and your heart ardently to desire, the everlasting joy which he hath prepared for his slaughter-sheep; that is, for such as shrink not from his truth for any such storms' sake. Amen.

When you shall come before the magistrates to give an answer of the hope which is in you, do it with all reverence and simplicity. And because you may be something afraid by the power of the magistrates, and cruelty which they will threaten against you, I would you set before you the good father Moses, to follow his example: for he set the invisible God before his eyes of faith, and with them looked upon God, and his glorious majesty and power, as with his corporal eyes he saw Pharaoh and all his fearful terrors. So do you, my dearly beloved: let your inward eyes give such light unto you, that as you know you are before the magistrates, so and much more, you and they also are present before the face of God, which will give such wisdom to you, fearing him and seeking his praise, as the enemies shall wonder at; and further, he will so order their hearts and doings, that they shall (will they nill they) serve God's providence towards you (which you cannot avoid though you would), as shall be most to his glory, and your everlasting comfort.

Therefore, my good brother, let your whole study be only to please God. put him always before your eyes, for he is on your right hand lest you should be moved; he is faithful, and never will suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. Yea, every hair of your head he hath numbered, so that one of them shall not perish without his good will, which cannot but be good unto you, in that he is become your Father through Christ; and therefore as he hath given you to believe in him (God increase this belief in us all), so doth he now graciously give unto you to suffer for his name's sake: the which you ought with all thankfulness to receive, in that you are made worthy to drink of the selfsame cup, which not only the very sons of God have drunk of before you; but even the very natural Son of God himself hath brought you good luck. Oh! he of his mercy make us thankful to pledge him again. Amen.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Whole-
some les-
sons of
life.

Example
of Moses
answer-
ing before
Pharaoh.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Because the chiefest matter they will trouble you, and go about to deceive you withal, is the sacrament, not of Christ's body and blood, but of the altar, as they call it, thereby destroying the sacrament which Christ instituted, I would you noted these two things: first, that the sacrament of the altar which the priest offereth in the mass, and eateth privately with himself, is not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood instituted by him, as Christ's institution plainly written and set forth in the Scriptures, being compared to their using of it, plainly doth declare.

Again, if they talk with you of Christ's sacrament instituted by him, whether it be Christ's body or no: answer them, that as to the eyes of your reason, to your taste and corporal sense, it is bread and wine, and therefore the Scripture calleth it after the consecration so: even so to the eyes, taste, and sense of your faith, which ascendeth to the right hand of God in heaven, where Christ sitteth, it is in very deed Christ's body and blood, which spiritually your soul feedeth on to everlasting life in faith, and by faith, even as your body presently feedeth on the sacramental bread and sacramental wine.

Christ is able to keep his promise in the sacrament, the substance of bread still remaining. The papists deny the omnipotency of God, and how.

By this means, as you shall not allow transubstantiation, nor any of their popish opinions; so shall you declare the sacrament to be a matter of faith, and not of reason, as the papists make it. For they deny God's omnipotency, in that they say Christ is not there, if bread be there: but faith looketh on the omnipotency of God, joined with his promise, and doubteth not but that Christ is able to give that he promiseth us spiritually by faith, the bread still remaining in substance, as well as if the substance of bread were taken away: for Christ saith not in any place, this is no bread. But of this gear God shall instruct you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly as you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it: the which thing he grant unto us both, and to all his people, for his name's sake, through Christ our Lord! Amen.

John Bradford.

To certain godly Men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the Cross, and constant in the true Doctrine which they had professed.

My dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as here in hope, so in heaven indeed, and eternally.

You know this world is not your home, but a pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it; that is, you allow it not, nor in any point will seem so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this hot sun, which now shineth, burneth so sore, that the corn which is sown upon sand and stony ground, beginneth to wither; that is, many which before times were taken for hearty gospellers, begin now, for the fear of afflictions, to relent, yea to turn to their vomit again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us: or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor loss have left us, either in word or in deed. As for their heart (which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger to God's curse) we have as much with us, as the papists have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they, playing wily beguile themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they curry favour: "What though with my body," say they, "I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him."

Back-sliding of gospellers.

Ministers of God.

Ah! brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost not thou confess and declare thyself accordingly, by word and fact? Either that which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart is good, or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why dost thou keep it in thy heart? Is not God able to defend thee?, adventuring thyself for his cause? or will he not defend his worshippers? Doth not the Scripture say, that the eyes of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And whereto? Forsooth to deliver their souls from death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are

we afraid of the loss of our goods, as though God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promises? Ah! faith, faith, how few feel thee now-a-days? Full truly said Christ, that he should scarcely find faith, when he came on earth.¹ For if men believed these promises, they would never do any thing outwardly, which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many soever they be, or how learned soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His word is the lantern to lighten our steps,² and not learned men. Company and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to God's lore and law; for else the more part goeth to the devil. As custom causeth error and blindness, so learning, if it be not according to the light of God's word, is poison, and learned men most pernicious. The devil is called demon for his cunning, and the children of the world are much wiser than the children of light in their generation:³ and I know the devil and his darlings have always for the most part more helps in this life than Christ's church and her children. They (the devil and his synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, unity, antiquity, learning, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotions plenty, as always they have had, and shall have commonly, and for the most part until Christ's coming, much more than the true church hath presently, heretofore hath had, or hereafter shall have. For her glory, riches, and honour are not here; her trial, cross, and warfare are here.

Margy.

A. D.
1555.Lack of
faith.Learning
to be fol-
lowed, so
far as it
concur-
reth with
God's
word.The syna-
gogue of
the devil
more
furnished
with
worldly
helps
than the
church of
Christ.

And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you be: not worldlings, but God's children. Consider where you be: not at home, but in a strange country. Consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, and of a wicked generation, and then I trust you will not much muse at affliction; which you cannot be without, being as you be, God's children, in a strange country, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leave your captain, Christ, and follow Satan for the muck of this world, rest and quietness, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it by doing as he would have you to do. But my sweet hearts! he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and war come from God, riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The devil hath no power but by God's permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body, or life, I pray you tell me what can much hurt you, as Peter saith, you being followers of godliness?⁴ Think you that God will not remember you in his time, as most shall be to your comfort? "Can a woman forget the child of her womb? And if she should, yet will not I forget thee, saith the Lord."⁵ Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery, look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the prophets, apostles, and all the godly from the beginning: and my good brethren, is not God the same God? Is he a changeling? "You have heard of the patience of Job," saith St. James, "and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient, and long suffering:"⁶ even so I say unto you, that you shall find accordingly, if so be you be patient; that is, if so be you fear him, set his word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present sense, but according to the end.⁷

What
we be:
where
we be:
amongst
whom we
be.Afflic-
tion no
strange
thing
amongst
God's
children.Example
of patri-
archs and
prophets
afflicted
in this
world.

Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of my bonds which I suffer for your sake, pray you, mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many others my brethren. For we have taught you no fables nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very word of God, which we are ready with our lives (God so enabling us, as we trust he will) to confirm, and by the shedding of our bloods, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior powers, to testify and seal up, as well that you might be more certain of the doctrine, as that you might be ready to confess the same before this wicked world; knowing that if we confess Christ and his truth before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven: if so be we be ashamed hereof for loss of life, friends, or goods, he will be ashamed of us before his Father, and his holy angels in heaven.

(1) Luke xviii.
(5) Isaiah xlix.(2) Psalm cxix.
(6) James v.(3) Luke xvi.
(7) Heb. xii. 2 Cor. iv.

(4) 1 Pet. iii.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.He exhorteth
to come
from the
mass.

Therefore take heed, for the Lord's sake take heed; take heed, and defile not your bodies or souls with this Romish and antichristian religion set up amongst us again: but come away, come away, as the angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity.¹ Harken to your preachers as the Thessalonians did to Paul; that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they sound not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.²

Use much and hearty prayer for the spirit of wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, sobriety, and repentance, which we have great need of; because our sins have thus provoked the Lord's anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears and sorrowful sighs, and doubtless he will be merciful to us after his wonted mercy. The which thing he vouchsafe to do for his holy name's sake in Christ Jesu our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

Out of prison by yours in the Lord to command,

John Bradford.

A Letter to Master George Eaton.

The prelates persecute and hate the martyrs, not for their iniquities, but for hatred of Christ, and of his verity in them.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, recompense abundantly into your bosom, my dearly beloved, here and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received since my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite your lovingkindness here, than by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whither, I thank God, I am even now a-going; ever looking when the officers will come, and satisfy the precept of the prelates. Whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved a hundred thousand deaths at God's hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the prelates do not persecute in me mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his verity: so that they persecute not me, they hate not me; but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

And because they can do him no hurt (for he sitteth in heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel), therefore they turn their rage upon his poor sheep, as Herod their father did upon the infants.³ Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me (who have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my sins), that I might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Bradford giveth testimony of his doctrine.

Therefore, my right dear brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me; and cease not to pray, that God, for his mercy's sake, would make perfect the good he hath begun in me. And as for the doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confess unto you in writing, as to the whole world I shortly shall, by God's grace, in suffering, that it is the very true doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his church, of his prophets, apostles, and all good men: so that if an angel should come from heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it; and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confess it, though it be perilous so to do. The end shall evidently show another manner of pleasure for so doing, than tongue can tell. Be diligent in prayer, and watch therein. Use reverent reading of God's word. Set the shortness of this time before your eyes, and let not the eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember them that be in bonds, especially for the Lord's cause, as members of your body, and fellow-heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of Sion, and the oppression of Jerusalem; and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my *vale* and farewell with you, dear brother, for ever in this

(1) Apoc. xviii.

(2) Isa. viii.

(3) Matt. ii.

present life, till we shall meet in eternal bliss; whither our good God and Father bring us shortly. Amen.—God bless all your babes for ever. Amen.—Out of prison this 8th of February.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Your afflicted brother for the Lord's cause,
John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mrs. Ann Warcup.

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for his Christ's sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more see what glory and honour is reposed and safely kept in heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confess Christ and his truth with the mouth. Amen.—My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a *vale* or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life indeed, upon certain knowledge. My staff standeth at the door; I continually look for the sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to practise that which I have preached. Now am I climbing up the hill: it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff. The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now, through his goodness, even almost come to the top, I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come where I should be. O loving Lord! put out thy hand, and draw me unto thee; for no man cometh, but he whom the Father draweth. See, my dearly beloved, God's loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and great weakness. As he sent for Elias in a fiery chariot, so sendeth he for me; for by fire my dross must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord, do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confess (right dear to me in the Lord!) that my sins have deserved hell-fire, much more than this fire. But lo, so loving is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his truth, and a testification of his verity, which the prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins. Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which, I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

God turneth the deserved death of his, to a glorious testimonial of his truth.

O that I had so open a heart as could so receive as I should do this great benefit and unspeakable dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never shrink, I hope. I trust in the Lord I shall never shrink: for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have most need, for his truth and mercy's sake. O Lord! help me. Into thy hands I commend me wholly. In the Lord is my trust, I care not what man can do unto me: Amen, Amen. My dearly beloved, say you amen also; and come after, if so God call you. Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, but keep company with him still. He will never leave you, but in the midst of temptation will give you an out-scape, to make you able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer; reverently read and hear God's word; put it in practice; look for the cross; lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of God's saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord; pray for mitigation of God's heavy displeasure upon our country. God keep us for ever, God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me; for God's sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen.—Out of prison, the 7th of February.

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

In the story of master Bradford, it was above rehearsed, how a certain gentlewoman, being in trouble by her father and mother for not coming to mass, sent her servant to visit master Bradford in prison; who, tendering the woeful case of the gentlewoman, to the intent partly to confirm her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this letter unto her: the contents whereof are these.

Mary. To a certain godly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends
A. D. for not coming to the Mass.
1555.

I wish unto you, right worshipful and my dearly-beloved sister in the Lord, as to myself, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengthen your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of God's gospel, whereto you are called.¹ Amen.

I perceived by yourself, the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the school-house and trial-parlour of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort, to see the number of God's elect by you increased, which are in that state whereof God hath not called many, as Paul saith.² And as it is a comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord, for his faithfulness' sake, will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.³

The cross
a token
of God's
election.

Satan
ever seek-
eth to dis-
turb the
peace of
Christ.

If then your cross be to me a comfort or token of your election, and a confirmation of God's continual favour, my dearly beloved, how much more ought it to be so unto you, unto whom he hath not only given to believe, but also to come into the trace of suffering for his sake; and that not commonly of common enemies, but even of your own father, mother, and all your friends, I mean kinsfolks, as you told me? by which I see Christ's words to be true, how that he came to give his children such a peace with him, as the devil might not, nor may abide;⁴ and therefore stirreth up father and mother, sister and brother, rather than it should continue. But, my dear sister, if you cry with David⁵ to the Lord, and complain to him; how that for conscience to him, your father and mother have forsaken you, you shall hear him speak in your heart, that he hath received you; and by this would have you to see, how that he maketh you here like to Christ, that elsewhere (in heaven) you might be like unto him; whereof you ought to be most assured, knowing that in time, even when Christ shall appear, you shall be like unto him.⁶ For he will make your body, which now you defile not with idolatrical service in going to mass, like unto his own glorious and immortal body, according to the power whereby he is able to do all things.⁷ He will confess you before his Father,⁸ which do not deny his verity in word nor deed before your Father;⁹ he will make you to reign with him, that now suffer for him and with him; he will reward you with himself and all the glory he hath, that now, for his sake, deny yourselves with all that ever you have;¹⁰ he will not leave you comfortless, that seek no comfort but at his hand; though for a little time you be afflicted, yet therein will he comfort and strengthen you, and at the length make you to be merry with him in such joy as is infinite and endless. He will wipe all the tears from your eyes; he will embrace you as your dear husband; he will, after he hath proved you, crown you with a crown of glory and immortality, such as the heart of man shall never be able to conceive in such sort as the thing is. He now beholdeth your steadfastness, and striving to do his good will; and shortly will he show you how steadfast he is, and will be ready to do your will, after that you have fully resigned it to his will.

Communi-
cating
with
Christ in
suffering.

The mass
is the
principal
service of
Anti-
christ.

Pledge him in his cup of the cross, and you shall pledge him in the cup of his glory. Desire to drink it before it be come to the dregs, whereof the wicked shall drink, and all those that, for fear of the cross and pledging the Lord, do walk with the wicked, in betraying in fact and deed that which their heart embraceth for verity. The which thing if you should do (which God forbid), then, my dear mistress and sister in the Lord, you should not only lose all that I have before spoken, and much more infinitely of eternal joy and glory, but also be a cast-away, and partaker of God's most heavy displeasure in hell-fire eternally; and so for a little ease, which you cannot tell how long it will last, to lose for ever and ever all ease and comfort. "For he that gathereth not with me," saith Christ (as no mass-gospeller doth), "scattereth abroad."¹¹ According to that we do in this body, we shall receive, be it good or bad.¹² If of our words we shall be judged to condemnation or salvation; much more then of our facts and deeds.¹³ You cannot be partaker of God's religion and Antichrist's

(1) Rom. i. (2) 1 Cor. i. (3) 1 Cor. i. and x. (4) Matt. x. (5) Psalm xxii.
(6) 1 John iii. (7) Phil. iii. (8) Matt. x. (9) Matt. viii. (10) 2 Tim. ii.
(11) Luke xi. (12) 2 Cor. v. (13) Matt. xii.

service, whereof the mass is most principal. You cannot be a member of Christ's church, and a member of the pope's church.¹ You must glorify God not only in soul and heart, but also in body and deed.² You may not think that God requireth less of you his wife now, than your husband did of you. If both heart and body your husband would have, shall Christ have less, throw you, which hath so bitterly and dearly bought it? If your husband could not admit an excuse how your heart is his only, if he should have taken your body in bed with another; do you think that Christ will allow your body at mass, although your heart consent not to it?

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

God esteemeth his children, not only of their hearts, but of their pure hands and works;³ and therefore in Elias's time he counted none to be his servants and people, but such as had not bowed their knees to Baal; as now he doth not in England account any other to be his darlings, which know the truth in heart, and deny it in their deeds; as do our mass-gospellers.

Against
mass-gos-
pellers.

We ought to desire above all things the sanctifying of God's holy name, and the coming of his kingdom; and shall we then see his name blasphemed so horribly as it is at mass, by making it a sacrifice propitiatory, and setting forth a false Christ of the priests' and bakers' making, to be worshipped as God, and say nothing? The Jews rent their clothes asunder in seeing or hearing any thing blasphemously done or spoken against God; and shall we yet come to church where mass is, and be mute? Paul and Barnabas rent their clothes to see the people of Lycaonia to offer sacrifice unto them, and shall we see sacrifice and God's service done to an inanimate creature, and be mum? What thing helpeth more or so much Antichrist's kingdom as doth the mass? And what destroyeth preaching and the kingdom of Christ upon earth more than *it* doth? And how can we then say, "Let thy kingdom come," and go to mass? How can we pray before God, "Thy will be done on earth," when we will do our own will, and the will of our father or friends? How pray we, "Deliver us from evil," which, knowing the mass to be evil, do come to it?

A false
Christ of
the
priest's
and the
baker's
making.

The mass
destroy-
eth
preaching
and the
kingdom
of Christ.

But what go I about to light a candle in the noon-day, that is, to tell you that we may not go to mass, or to the congregation where it is, except it be to reprove it, in that all men in so doing do but dissemble both with God and man? And is dissembling now to be allowed? "How long will men yet halt on both knees?" saith God. "Halting," saith St. Paul, "bringeth out of the way;" that is to say, out of Christ, which is the way: so that he which is not in him shall wither away, and be cast into hell-fire. For Christ will be ashamed of them before his Father, which be now ashamed of his truth before this wicked generation.

Therefore, my good mistress, take good heed; for it had been better for you never to have known the truth, and there-through to have escaped from papistical uncleanness, than now to return to it; making eftsoons your members, being members of righteousness, members of unrighteousness; as you do, if you do but go to the church where mass is. Be pure therefore, and keep yourself from all filth of the spirit, and of the flesh. Abstain not only from all evil, but from all appearance of evil.

He dis-
suadeth
her from
the mass.

And so the God of peace shall be with you, the glory of God shall govern you, the Spirit of God shall sanctify you, and be with you for ever, to keep you from all evil, and to comfort you in all your distress and trouble; which is but short, if you consider the eternity you shall enjoy in glory and felicity in the Lord, which undoubtedly you shall not fail but inherit for ever, if so be you, as the elect child of God, put your trust in his mercy, call upon his name unfeignedly, and yield not over to the wicked world, but stick still against it unto the end. God, for his holy name's sake, who is properly the God of the widows, be your good and dear Father for ever, and help you always, as I myself would be holpen at his hands in all things; and especially in this his own cause. Amen, amen.

John Bradford.

To One by whom he had received much Comfort and Relief in his Trouble and Imprisonment.

The mercy of God in Christ, peculiar to his children, be evermore felt of you, my dearly beloved in the Lord. Amen.

(1) 1 Cor. x.

(2) 1 Cor. vi.

(3) Psalm cxxx.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Christfor-
saken of
many for
the pre-
serving of
worldly
pelf.

When I consider with myself the benefits which God hath showed unto me by your means, if I had so good and thankful a heart as I would I had, I could not with dry eyes give him thanks; for certainly they are very many and great. And now, being yet still the Lord's prisoner, I receive from him more benefits by you. For the which I think myself so much bound to you, my good brother (although you were but the instrument by whom God wrought and blessed me), that I look not to come out of your debt by any pleasure or service that I shall ever be able to do you in this life. I shall heartily pray unto God, therefore, to requite you the good you have done to me for his sake: for I know that which you have done, you have done it simply in respect of God and his word. He therefore give you daily more and more to be confirmed in his truth and word, and so plentifully pour upon you the riches of his holy Spirit and heavenly treasures laid up in store for you, that your corporal and earthly riches may be used of you as sacraments and significations thereof; the more to desire the one—that is, the heavenly, and the less to esteem the other—that is, the earthly. For Satan's solicitation is, so to set before you the earthly, that therein and thereby you should not have access to the consideration of the heavenly, but, as one bewitched, should utterly forget them, and altogether become a lover and worshipper of the earthly mammon, and so to fall to covetousness, and a desire to be rich, by that means to bring you into many noisome and hurtful lusts: as now-a-days I hear of many which have utterly forsaken God and all his heavenly riches, for Antichrist's pleasure, and the preserving of their worldly pelf, which they imagine to leave to their posterity; whereof they are uncertain, as they may be most certain they leave to them God's wrath and vengeance, in his time to be sent by visitation, if they in time heartily repent not, and prevent not the same by earnest prayer. Wherein, my good brother, if you be diligent, hearty, and persevere, I am sure God will preserve you from evil, and from yielding yourself to do as the world now doth, by allowing in bodily fact in the Romish service, that which the inward cogitation and mind doth disallow. But if you be cold in prayer, and come into consideration of earthly and present things simply, then shall you fall into faithless follies and wounding of your conscience; from which God evermore preserve you with your good wife, and your babe Leonard, and all your family; to the which I wish the blessing of God now and for ever, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

I pray you give thanks for me to your old bed-fellow, for his great friendship for your sake showed to me when I was in the Tower. John Bradford.

To a faithful Friend of his, and his Wife, resolving their doubt, why they ought not to come to Auricular Confession.

The merciful God, and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which loveth us as a most dear Father, and hath put upon him towards us the affection of a most tender mother towards her children, so that he can no less think upon us (although of ourselves we be most unworthy, and deserve nothing less) than she can think on her only begotten child in his distress, yea, if she should forget her child, as some unnatural mother will do, yet will he never forget us, although for a time he seem to sleep, that we might be occasioned to call loud and awake him: this good God keep you, my dear brother Nathaniel,¹ and your good yoke-fellow, my heartily beloved sister in the Lord, in all things now and for ever, to his glory, and your eternal comfort: and also of his goodness he grant you both the feeling of that hope, which undoubtedly he hath laid up in store for you both, far passing the store and provision, not only which you have made, but all the world is able to make, as I trust already he hath wrought it in you: but I beseech him to increase it more and more, and kindle in you a hearty longing for the enjoying of the same; the which once felt and had in deed, then the means by the which we come thereto cannot be so greatly dreaded, as most men do dread them, because either they want this feeling (I mean it, of altogether), or else because the sense of this present time and things therein, are as a mist to the hiding of those things from our sight, lest we should run and embrace them by hearty prayer; the spirit whereof God grant us, and indeed we should attain enough in this behalf, if we continued therein.

(1) Note that this Nathaniel was not his proper name; but he was so called for his unfeigned simplicity and truth.

For auricular confession, wherein you desire my advice for your good yoke-fellow and family (my most dear brother), I am as ready to give it, as you to desire it, yea more glad, forasmuch as half a suspicion was in me (at the least touching my dear sister your wife) of a loathing of my advice, that too much had been given, whereas indeed I should lament my too little feeding you spiritually, as you, both out of prison and in prison, have fed me corporally. But as I always thought of her, so I yet think, that she is the child of God, whom God dearly loveth, and will in his good time, to her eternal comfort, give her her heart's desire in sure feeling and sensible believing of this, which I would she had often in her mind; namely, that he is her God and Father through Jesus Christ our dear Lord and Saviour. A greater service to God she cannot give, than to believe this. If Satan say, she believeth not, to answer not him but the Lord, and to say, "Yea Lord, help my unbelief; and increase my poor faith, which Satan saith is no faith: make him a liar, Lord, as always he hath been, is, and shall be." Undoubtedly, sooner or later God will graciously hear her groans, and keep all her tears in his bottle, yea write them in his counting-book, for he is a righteous God, and hath no pleasure in the death of his creature; he loveth mercy, he will return and show her his mercy, he will cast all her sins and iniquities into the bottom of the sea; and the longer that he tarrieth (as he doth it but to prove her), so the more liberally will he recompense her long looking; which no less pleaseth him, than it grieveth now her outward Adam. For the mortification whereof God useth this cross, and therefore if she desire to bear the same, doubtless God will make her able to bear it; and in presumption of his goodness and strength, let her cast herself wholly upon him; for he is faithful, and will assuredly confirm, and bring to a happy end, that good which graciously he hath begun in her. The which thing I desire him to do for his own glory and name's sake. Amen, amen.

And now to the matter. Confession auricular, as it was first used and instituted (which was by the way of a counsel asking), I take to be amongst those traditions which are indifferent; that is, neither unlawful, nor necessarily binding us, except the offence of the weak could not be avoided. But to consider it as it is now used (I write to you but as I think, and what my mind is; which follow no further, than good men by God's word do allow it), to consider it, I say, as it is now used, methinketh, it is plainly unlawful and wicked, and that for these causes:

First, because they make it a service of God, and a thing which pleaseth God of itself, I will not say meritorious; this bringer, my brother, can tell you at large how great this evil is.

Secondly, because they make it of necessity, so that he or she that useth it not, is not taken for a good Christian.

Thirdly, because it requireth of itself an impossibility; that is, the numbering and telling of all our sins; which no man perceiveth, much less can utter.

Fourthly, because it establisheth and confirmeth, at the least aloweth, praying to saints: "Precor sanctam Mariam," you must say, or the priest for you.

Fifthly, because it is very injurious to the liberty of the gospel, the which to affirm in example and fact, I take to be a good work and dear in God's sight.

Sixthly, because (as it is used) it is a note, yea a very sinew, of the popish church: and therefore we should be so far from allowing the same, that we should think ourselves happy to lose any thing in bearing witness there-against.

Seventhly, because, instead of counsel, thereat you should receive poison; or, if you refuse it under sir John's benedicite, you should no less there be wounded in the briars.

Eighthly, because the end and purpose why we go thither, is for the avoiding of the cross; that is, for our own cause, and not for Christ's cause, or for our brethren's commodity. For in that they make it so necessary a thing, and a worshipping of God, it cannot but be against Christ, and the freedom of his gospel: and the same thing teacheth us, that it is against the commodity of our brethren, which either be weak, either be strong, either be ignorant, either be obstinate. If they be weak, by your resorting to it, they be made more weak. If they be strong, you do what you can to infirm their strength. If they be ignorant, therein you help to keep them by your fact. If they be obstinate, your resorting to it cannot but rock them asleep in their obstinate

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

What to do, if Satan charge our conscience with unbelief.

The Lord, the longer he tarrieth, the more liberally he recompenseth at his coming.

Confession auricular, to what end it was first instituted.

Prejudicial to christian liberty.

A mark of the pope's church.

Giveth poison.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Four
crosses,
whereof
three
bring
to hell.
Why the
more part
go that
way that
leadeth to
perdition.

See
Appendix.

error of the necessity of this rite and ceremony. These causes recited, do show you what I think in this: but my thinking must no further bind you than a man's thought should do, except the same be grounded upon God's word, which bindeth indeed, as I think they do. I doubt not but you, weighing these causes, and especially two, the first and the last, if you pray to God for his Spirit to direct you, and thereto ask the advice of this my good brother and other godly learned men, I doubt not (I say) but you shall be guided to do that which is best in God's sight, although in the sight of the world, perhaps, you should be counted foolish and precise. But be at a point with yourselves as the disciples of Christ, which had forsaken themselves, to follow, not your will, but God's will, as you daily pray in the Lord's prayer.

The cross of Christ be willing to carry, lest you carry the cross of the world, the flesh, or the devil. One of these four crosses you must carry. Three of them bring to hell, and therefore the more part goeth that way, which is a broad way. Only the fourth bringeth to heaven; but few go that way, as well because the way is strait, as also because few walk in it. Howbeit though it be strait, it is but short, and the few are many, if you consider the godly, as the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and Christ Jesus, with all his guard and train. Think not scorn to come after them which are gone before you, and after them which now go before you, in whose number I trust I am appointed to be one; and I beseech you pray for me, that God would vouch me worthy that honour. Our sins deserve plagues, prison, and the loss of all that ever we have: therefore if God remove our sins out of sight, and send us prison, or loss of goods and living for his name's sake, O how happy are we! My dear hearts in the Lord, consider this gear, and be assured that he which loseth any thing for Christ's sake, the same in his posterity shall find it here, and in heaven elsewhere. As for unableness to answer for your faith, it shall be enough to will them to dispute with your teachers. Faith standeth not in disputing. I think few, if it came to disputing, could defend the God-head of Christ and many other articles: I speak it for the simple sort. Pray for me. Lack of paper maketh this end. Commend me to my good brother R. B., and my good sister his wife. I pray them to pray for me. I trust by this bearer to hear how you do.

John Bradford.

To a dear Friend N., and his Wife.

God's mercy in Christ I wish you to feel, my dear brother, with my faithful sister your wife, now and for ever. Amen.

Having this occasion, I could not but write something, as well to put myself in remembrance of my duty to God-ward for you, both in thankfulness and prayer, as to put you in remembrance of me; and your duty towards God for me, in praying for me; for I dare not say in thankfulness for me: not that I would have you to give no thanks to God for his wonderfully great and sweet mercies towards me, and upon me in Christ his Son; but because I have not deserved it at either of your hands. For ye both know right well, at least my conscience doth accuse me, how that I have not only not exhorted and taught you (as both my vocation and your deserts required) to walk worthy of that vocation which God hath made you worthy of, and with trembling and fear to work out your salvation (that is, in the fear of God to give yourselves to great vigilancy in prayer for the increase of faith, and to a wary circumspection in all your conversation, not only in works and words, but also in thoughts, because God is a searcher of the heart, and out of the heart it cometh that defileth us in God's sight): I have (I say) not only not done this, but also have given you example of negligence in prayer, watching, fasting, talking, and doing; so that wo to me for giving you such offence. Partly for this cause, dear brother and sister, God hath cast me here, that I might repent me and turn to him; and that ye might also, by this correction upon me, be more diligent to redress these things and others, if they in your conscience do accuse you.

My dearly beloved, heavily is God's anger fallen upon us all; doleful is this day. Now hath antichrist all his power again. Now is Christ's gospel trodden under foot. Now are God's people a derision and prey for the wicked. Now is the greatest plague of all plagues fallen, the want of God's word: and all

Anti-
christ
reigning
in Eng-
land.

these we have, yea I alone have justly deserved. Oh ! that as I write (I alone), I could with David,¹ and with Jonas, in heart say so. But I do not, I do not. I see not how grievously I have sinned, and how great a misery is fallen for mine unthankness for God's word, for mine hypocrisy in professing, preaching, hearing, and speaking of God's word : for my not praying to God for the continuance of it, for my not living of it thoroughly, as it requireth, etc. I will speak nothing of my manifest evils, for they are known to you well enough.

Dear brother and sister, with me say ye the like for your own parts, and with me join your hearts, and let us go to our heavenly Father, and for his Christ's sake beseech him to be merciful unto us, and to pardon us : O good Father, it is we that have deserved the taking away of thy word ; it is we that have deserved these thy just plagues fallen upon us ; we have done amiss ; we have dealt unjustly with thy gospel ; we have procured thy wrath ; and therefore just art thou in punishing us, just art thou in plaguing us, for we are very miserable. But, good Lord and dear Father of mercy, whose justice is such, that thou wilt not punish the poor souls of this realm, which yet have not thus sinned against thee as we have done (for many yet never heard thy word), for our trespasses ; and whose mercy is so great, that thou wilt put our iniquities out of thy remembrance for thy Christ's sake, if we repent and believe : grant us, we beseech thee, true repentance and faith, that we, having obtained pardon for our sins, may, through thy Christ, get deliverance from the tyranny of antichrist now oppressing us.

O good Father, which hast said, that "the sceptre of the wicked should not long lie upon and over the just, lest they should put forth their hands to iniquity also ;"² make us just, we pray thee in Christ's name, and cut asunder the cords of them that hate Sion ; let not the wicked people say, Where is their God ? Thou our God art in heaven, and dost whatsoever pleaseth thee upon earth.

Oh that thou wouldest in the meanwhile, before thou dost deliver us—that, I say, thou wouldest open our eyes to see all these plagues to come from thee, and all other that shall come, whatsoever they be, public or private, that they come not by chance nor by fortune, but that they come even from thy hand ; and that justly and mercifully ; justly, because we have and do deserve them, not only by our birth-poison still sticking and working in us, but also by our former evil life past, which by this punishment and all other punishments thou wouldest have us to call to our remembrance, and to set before us, that thou mightest put them from before thee, whereas they stand so long as they are not in our remembrance, to put them away by repentance. Mercifully, O Lord God, dost thou punish, in that thou dost not correct to kill, but to amend ; that we might repent our sins, ask mercy, obtain it freely in Christ, and begin to suffer for righteousness' sake ; to be part of thy house, whereat thy judgment beginneth ; to be partakers of the afflictions of thy church, and thy Christ, that we might be partakers of the glory of the same ; to weep here, that we might rejoice elsewhere ; to be judged in this world, that we might with thy saints judge hereafter the world ; to suffer with Christ, that we might reign with him ; to be like to Christ in shame, that we might be like to him in glory ; to receive our evils here, that we might with poor Lazarus find rest elsewhere ; rest, I say, and such a rest as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive. Oh ! that our eyes were open to see this : that the cross cometh from thee to declare thy justice and thy mercy, and hereto, that we might see how short a time the time of suffering is ; how long a time the time of rejoicing is, to them that suffer here ; but to them that will not, how long and miserable a time is appointed and prepared ; a time without time in eternal woe and perdition, too horrible to be thought upon. From the which keep us, dear Father, and give us more light in soul to see this gear, and how that all thy dearest children have carried the cross of grievous afflictions in this life ; in whose company do thou place us, and such a cross lay upon us, as thou wilt make us able to bear, to thy glory and our salvation in Christ, for whose sake we pray thee to shorten the days of this our great misery fallen upon us most justly, and in the mean season give us patience, repentance, faith, and thy eternal consolation. Amen, amen, amen.

And thus, dear hearts, I have talked methinks, a little while with you, or

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

He exhorteth them by his confession to do the like. His prayer to God.

The cross sent from God, and to what end.

(1) 2 Sam. xxiv.

(2) Psalm cxxv.

Mary. rather we have all talked with God. Oh! that God would give us his Spirit of grace and prayer. My dearly beloved, pray for it, as for yourselves, so for me; and that God would vouchsafe to make me worthy to suffer with a good conscience for his name's sake. Pray for me, and I shall do the like for you.—*A. D.* 'Tis 20th of December, by him whom by this bringer you shall learn. I pray 1555. you give my commendations to all that love me in the Lord. Be merry in Christ, for one day in heaven we shall meet and rejoice together for evermore. Amen.

To my good Brother Augustine Bernher.

Mine own good Augustine, the Lord of mercy bless thee, my dear brother, for ever. I have good hope, that if you come late at night, I shall speak with you; but come as secretly as you can: howbeit, in the mean season, if you can, and as you can, learn what master G. hath spoken to Dr. Story and others. The cause of all this trouble both to my keeper and me, is thought to come by him. It is said that I shall be burned in Smithfield, and that shortly. The Lord's will be done. "Behold, here I am, Lord, send me."² Ah! mine own sweet friend, I am now alone, lest I should make you and others worse. If I should live, I would more warily use the company of God's children, than ever I have done. "I will bear the Lord's anger, because I have sinned against him."³ Commend me to my most dear sister, for whom my heart bleedeth: the Lord comfort her and strengthen her unto the end! I think I have taken my leave of her for ever in this life, but in eternal life we shall most surely meet, and praise the Lord continually. I have now taken a more certain answer of death than ever I did: and yet not so certain as I ween I should do. I am now as a sheep appointed to the slaughter. Ah! my God, the hour is come; glorify thy most unworthy child. I have glorified thee, saith this my sweet Father, and I will glorify thee. Amen.—Ah! mine own bowels, praise God for me; and pray for me; for I am his hope: I hope he will never forsake me, though I have above all others most deserved it. I am the most singular example of his mercy, praised be his name therefore for ever. Cause Mrs. Pierrepont to learn of the sheriff, master Chester, what they purpose to do with me; and know, if you can, whether there be any writ forth for me. "I am like to an owl in the house, and as a sparrow alone in the house-top."⁴ Ah! my Augustine, how long shall God's enemies thus triumph? I have sent you this of the baptism of children to write out; when this is done, you shall have other things. Pray, pray, mine own dear heart, on whom I am bold. The keeper telleth me, that it is death for any to speak with me, but yet, I trust, that I shall speak with you.

John Bradford.

To these letters of master Bradford above specified, here is also adjoined another letter of the said Bradford, written to certain of his faithful friends, worthy of all Christians to be read; wherein is described a lively comparison between the old man and the new: also between the law and the gospel, containing much fruitful matter of divinity, necessary for christian consciences to read and understand.

A Letter of Master Bradford, describing a Comparison between the Old Man and the New, etc.

Comparison between the old man and the new.

A man that is regenerate and born of God (the which thing that every one of us be, our baptism, the sacrament of regeneration, doth require under pain of damnation, and therefore let every one of us with the Virgin Mary say, "Be it unto me, O Lord, according to thy word," according to the sacrament of baptism, wherein thou hast declared our adoption; and let us lament the

(1) This Augustine being a Dutchman, was Latimer's servant, and a faithful minister in the time of king Edward, and in queen Mary's time a diligent attendant upon the Lord's prisoners.

(2) "Domini voluntas fiat. Ecce ego Domine, mitte me."

(3) "Iram Domini portabo, quoniam peccavi ei."

(4) "Factus sum sicut nycticorax in domicilio, et passer solitarius in tecto." Psal. ci. [Vulgate.

—Ed.]

doubting hereof in us, striving against it, as we shall be made able of the Lord): a man, I say, that is regenerate, consisteth of two men (as a man may say); namely, of the old man, and of the new man: the old man is like to a mighty giant, such a one as was Goliath, for his birth is now perfect; but the new man is like unto a little child, such a one as was David; for his birth is not perfect until the day of his general resurrection.

The old man therefore is more strong, lusty, and stirring than is the new man, because the birth of the new man is but begun now, and the old man is perfectly born. And as the old man is more stirring, lusty, and stronger than the new man; so is the nature of him clean contrary to the nature of the new man, as being earthly and corrupt with Satan's seed, the nature of the new man being heavenly, and blessed with the celestial seed of God. So that one man, inasmuch as he is corrupt with the seed of the serpent, is an old man; and inasmuch as he is blessed with the seed of God from above, he is a new man. And as, inasmuch as he is an old man, he is a sinner and an enemy to God; so, inasmuch as he is regenerate, he is righteous and holy, and a friend to God, the seed of God preserving him from sin, so that he cannot sin, as the seed of the serpent (wherewith he is corrupt even from his conception) inclineth him, yea enforceth him to sin, and nothing else but to sin: so that the best part in man before regeneration, in God's sight, is not only an enemy, but enmity itself.

One man therefore which is regenerate, well may be called always just, and always sinful; just in respect of God's seed, and his regeneration; sinful in respect of Satan's seed, and his first birth. Betwixt these two men therefore there is continual conflict, and war most deadly. The flesh and old man, by reason of his birth that is perfect, doth often for a time prevail against the new man (being but a child in comparison), and that in such sort, as not only others, but even the children of God themselves, think that they be nothing else but old, and that the spirit and seed of God is lost and gone away;¹ whereas, yet notwithstanding, the truth is otherwise, the spirit and the seed of God at the length appearing again, and dispelling away the clouds which cover the sun of God's seed from shining, as the clouds in the air do the corporal sun; so that sometimes a man cannot tell, by any sense, that there is any sun, the clouds and wind so hiding it from our sight: even so our cecity or blindness, and corrupt affections, do often shadow the sight of God's seed in God's children, as though they were plain reprobates. Whereof it cometh, that they, praying according to their sense, but not according to the truth, desire of God to give them again his Spirit, as though they had lost it, and he had taken it away. Which thing God never doth indeed, although he make us to think so for a time; for always he holdeth his hand under his children in their falls, that they lie not still as others do which are not regenerate. And this is the difference betwixt God's children which are regenerate and elect before all times in Christ, and the wicked always; that the elect lie not still continually in their sin, as do the wicked, but at the length do return again by reason of God's seed, which is in them hid as a sparkle of fire in the ashes; as we may see in Peter,² David, Paul, Mary Magdalen, and others. For these (I mean God's children) God hath made all things in Christ Jesus, to whom he hath given this dignity, that they should be his inheritance and spouses.

This our inheritor Christ Jesus, God with God, light of light, co-eternal and consubstantial with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost, to the end that he might become our husband (because the husband and the wife must be one body and flesh), hath taken our nature upon him, communicating with it and by [it] in his own person, to us all his children, his divine majesty (as Peter saith), and so is become flesh of our flesh, and bone of our bones substantially; as we are become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones spiritually, all that ever we have pertaining to him, yea even our sins; as all that ever he hath, pertaineth unto us, even his whole glory. So that if Satan should summon us to answer for our debts or sins, in that the wife is no sueable person, but the husband, we may well bid him enter his action against our husband Christ, and he will make him a sufficient answer.

(1) The old man so mightily prevaieth sometimes against the new in the children of God, that the spirit and seed of God seemeth to be utterly taken from them: whereas indeed it is not so; as afterwards, to their great comfort, they find and feel.

(2) 1 Pet. i.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

Why the old man is stronger than the new.

In what respect one man is both an old man, and also a new man.

How one man may be called always sinful, and always just. Why the old man oftentimes prevaieth against the new man.

As the wife is no sueable person, but the husband; so Christ being our husband, let him enter the action for our sins against him.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The law pertaineth to the old man, and the gospel to the new. What the law is. The gospel.

For this end (I mean that we might be coupled and married thus to Christ, and so be certain of salvation, and at godly peace with God in our consciences) God hath given his holy word, which hath two parts (as now the children of God do consist of two men), one part of God's word being proper to the old man, and the other part of God's word being proper to the new man. The part properly pertaining to the old man, is the law; the part properly pertaining to the new man, is the gospel.

The law is a doctrine which commandeth and forbiddeth, requiring, doing and avoiding: under it therefore are contained all precepts, threatenings, promises upon conditions of our doing and avoiding, etc. The gospel is a doctrine which always offereth and giveth, requiring faith on our behalf, not as of worthiness, or as a cause, but as a certificate unto us; and therefore under it are contained all the free and sweet promises of God, as "I am the Lord thy God," etc.¹

In those that be of years of discretion, it requireth faith, not as a cause, but as an instrument, whereby we ourselves may be certain of our good husband Christ, and of his glory; and therefore when the conscience feelth itself disquieted for fear of God's judgment against sin, she may in no wise look upon the doctrine pertaining to the old man, but on the doctrine only that pertaineth to the new man; in it not looking for that which it requireth, that is faith, because we never believe as we should; but only on it which it offereth, and which it giveth, that is, on God's grace and eternal mercy and peace in Christ. So shall she be in quiet, when she looketh for it, altogether out of herself, in God's mercy in Christ Jesus: in whose lap if she lay her head with St. John,² then is she happy, and shall find quietness indeed. When she feelth herself quiet, then, in God's name, let her look on the law, and upon such things as it requireth, thereby to bridle and keep down the old Adam, to slay that Goliath; from whom she must needs keep the sweet promises, being the bed wherein her spouse and she meet and lie together. For as the wife will keep her bed only for her husband, although in other things she is contented to have fellowship with others, as to speak, sit, eat, drink, go, etc.; so our consciences, which are Christ's wives, must needs keep the bed (that is, God's sweet promises) alone for ourselves and our husband, there to meet together, to embrace and laugh together, and to be joyful together. If sin, the law, the devil, or any thing would creep into the bed, and lie there, then complain to thy husband Christ, and forthwith thou shalt see him play Phineas's part.³ Thus, my dearly beloved, I have given you, in few words, a sum of all the divinity which a christian conscience cannot want.

To the conscience quieted and at peace with God, the law serveth only to keep down the old man.

A Letter written to his Mother, as a Farewell, when he thought he should have suffered shortly after.

The Lord of life and Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, bless you and comfort you, my good and dear mother, with his heavenly comfort, consolation, grace, and spirit, now and for ever. Amen.—If I thought that daily, yea almost hourly, you did not cry upon God the Father through Jesus Christ, that he would give me his blessing, even the blessing of his children; then would I write more hereabouts. But forasmuch as herein I am certain you are diligent, and so I beseech you, good mother, to continue; I think it good to write something, whereby this your crying might be furthered. Furthered it will be, if those things which hinder it be taken away;⁴ among the which, in that I think my imprisonment is the greatest and chiefest, I will thereabout spend this letter, and that briefly, lest it might increase the let, as my good brother, this bringer, can tell you. You shall know therefore, good mother, that for my body, though it be in a house, out of the which I cannot come when I will, yet in that I have conformed my will to God's will, I find herein liberty enough, I thank God. And for my lodging, bedding, meat, drink, godly and learned company, books, and all other necessities for mine ease, comfort, and commodity, I am in much better ease than I could wish, and God's merciful providence here is

(1) The conscience feared and beaten down with the terror of God's judgment against sin, may not look upon the law, but fly to the gospel for relief and comfort.

(2) John xii.

(3) Num. xxv.

(4) He meaneth the danger of more strait imprisonment that might hereby follow.

far above my worthiness. Worthiness, quoth I? Alas, I am worthy of nothing but damnation.

But besides all this, for my soul, I find much more commodity; for God is my Father, I now perceive, through Christ; therefore, in prisoning me for his gospel, he maketh me like to the image of his Son Jesus Christ here, that when he cometh to judgment, I might then be like unto him, as my trust and hope is, I shall be. Now maketh he me like to his friends the prophets, apostles, the holy martyrs and confessors: which of them did not suffer at the least imprisonment or banishment for his gospel and word?

Now, mother, how far am I unmeet to be compared to them!—I (I say) which always have been and am so vile a hypocrite and grievous a sinner. God might have caused me, long before this time, to have been cast into prison as a thief, a blasphemer, an unclean liver, and an heinous offender of the laws of the realm; but, dear mother, his mercy is so great upon both you, and all that love me, that I should be cast into prison as none of these, or for any such vices, but only for his Christ's sake, for his gospel's sake, for his church's sake, that hereby as I might learn to lament and bewail my ingratitude and sins, so I might rejoice in his mercy, be thankful, look for eternal joy with Christ; for whose sake, praised be his name for it, I now suffer, and therefore should be merry and glad. And indeed, good mother, so I am, as ever I was; yea never so merry and glad was I, as now I should be, if I could get you to be merry with me, to thank God for me, and to pray on this sort: Ah! good Father, which dost vouchsafe that my son, being a grievous sinner in thy sight, should find this favour with thee, to be one of thy son's captains and men of war to fight and suffer, for his gospel's sake, I thank thee, and pray thee, in Christ's name, that thou wouldst forgive him his sins and unthankfulness, and make perfect in him that good which thou hast begun; yea Lord, I pray thee make him worthy to suffer, not only imprisonment, but even very death, for thy truth, religion, and gospel's sake. As Anna did apply and give her first child Samuel unto thee, so do I, dear Father, beseeching thee for Christ's sake to accept this my gift, and give my son, John Bradford, grace always truly to serve thee and thy people, as Samuel did. Amen, Amen.

If on this sort, good mother, from your heart you would pray, as I should be the most merriest man that ever was; so am I certain the lets of your prayer for my imprisonment would be taken away. Good mother, therefore mark what I have written, and learn this prayer by heart, to say it daily; and then I shall be merry, and you shall rejoice if that you continue, as I trust you do, in God's true religion, even the same I have taught you, and my father Traves I trust will put you in remembrance of: my brother Roger also, I trust, doth so daily: go to, therefore, and learn apace. Although the devil cast divers lets in the way, God, in whom you trust, will cast them away for his Christ's sake, if you will call upon him; and never will he suffer you to be tempted above that he will make you able to bear. But how you should do herein, the other letter which I have written herewith,¹ shall teach you, which I would have none should read till my father Traves have read it, and he will give you, by God's grace, some instructions.

Now, therefore, will I make an end, praying you, good mother, to look for no more letters; for if it were known that I have pen and ink, and did write, then should I want all the foresaid commodities I have spoken of concerning my body, and be cast into some dungeon in fetters of iron: which thing I know would grieve you. And therefore, for God's sake, see that these be burned, when this little prayer in it is copied by my brother Roger; for perchance your house may be searched for such gear, when you think little of it: and look for no more, sweet mother, till either God shall deliver me, and send me out, or you and I shall meet together in heaven, where we shall never part asunder. Amen.

I require you, Elizabeth and Margaret my sisters, that you will fear God, use prayer, love your husbands, be obedient unto them, as God willet; you; bring up your children in God's fear, and be good housewives. God bless you both, with both your husbands, my good brethren, to whom to do good, because I now cannot, I will pray for them and you. Commend me to my sister Anne, mother Pike, Thomas Sorrocolod and his wife, R. Shalcross and his wife, R. Bolton, J. Wild, master vicar, the parson of Mottram, sir Laurence Hall, with

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

A prayer
for his
mother to
offer unto
God in his
behalf.

Exhorta-
tion to his
two sis-
ters.

(1) This letter came not to our hands. [See Letters of the Martyrs; edit. 1837. page 349.—Ed.]

Mary. all that love, and I trust, live in the gospel; and God turn sir Thomas's heart : Amen. I will daily pray for him. I need not to set my name; you know it well enough.

A. D.
1555. Because you should give my letters to my father Traves to be burned, I have written here a prayer for you to learn to pray for me, good mother, and another for all your house in your evening prayer, to pray with my brother. These prayers are written with mine own hand: keep them still, but the letters give to father Traves to burn, and give father Traves a copy of the latter prayer.

Another Letter to his Mother, at his last Farewell unto her in this World, a little before he was burned.

God's mercy and peace in Christ, be more and more perceived of us. Amen.

Bradford persecuted of the prelates, not for his sins, but for the truth of Christ.

My most dear mother, in the bowels of Christ I heartily pray and beseech you to be thankful for me unto God, which thus now taketh me unto himself: I die not, my good mother, as a thief, a murderer, an adulterer, etc.: but I die as a witness of Christ, his gospel and verity, which hitherto I have confessed (I thank God) as well by preaching as by imprisonment, and now even presently I shall most willingly confirm the same by fire. I acknowledge that God most justly might take me hence simply for my sins (which are many, great, and grievous: but the Lord, for his mercy in Christ, hath pardoned them all, I hope): but now, dear mother, he taketh me hence by this death, as a confessor and witness, that the religion taught by Christ Jesus, the prophets, and the apostles, is God's truth. The prelates do persecute in me Christ, whom they hate, and his truth which they may not abide, because their works are evil, and may not abide the truth and light, lest men should see their darkness. Therefore, my good and most dear mother, give thanks for me to God, that he hath made the fruit of your womb to be a witness of his glory, and attend to the truth, which (I thank God for it) I have truly taught out of the pulpit of Manchester. Use often and continual prayer to God the father through Christ. Harken, as you may, to the Scriptures: serve God after his word, and not after custom; beware of the Romish religion in England, defile not yourself with it; carry Christ's cross as he shall lay it upon your back; forgive them that kill me; pray for them, for they know not what they do; commit my cause to God our Father; be mindful of both your daughters, and help them as you can.

I send all my writings to you by my brother Roger: do with them as you will, because I cannot as I would: he can tell you more of my mind. I have nothing to give you, or to leave behind me for you; only I pray God my Father, for his Christ's sake, to bless you, and keep you from evil. He give you patience; he make you thankful, as for me, so for yourself, that he will take the fruit of your womb to witness his verity: wherein I confess to the whole world, I die and depart this life, in hope of a much better: which I look for at the hands of God my Father, through the merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ.

Thus, my dear mother, I take my last farewell of you in this life, beseeching the Almighty and eternal Father by Christ, to grant us to meet in the life to come, where we shall give him continual thanks and praise for ever and ever. Amen.—Out of prison, the 24th of June, 1555.

Your son in the Lord, John Bradford.

A Letter sent with a Supplication to Queen Mary, her Council, and the whole Parliament.

In most humble wise complaineth unto your majesty and honours, a poor subject, persecuted for the confession of Christ's verity: the which verity deserveth at your hands to be maintained and defended, as the thing by the which you reign, and have your honors and authorities. Although we that be professors, and through the grace of God the constant confessors of the same, are (as it were) the outswappings of the world: yet (I say) the verity itself is a thing not unworthy for your ears to hear, for your eyes to see, and for your hands to handle, help, and succour, according to that the Lord hath made you able, and placed you where you are, for the same purpose. Your lighness and honours ought to know, that there is no innocency in words or deeds, where

it is enough and sufficeth only to accuse. It behoveth, kings, queens, and all that be in authority, to know that in the administration of their kingdoms they are God's ministers. It behoveth them to know, that they are no kings, but plain tyrants, which reign not to this end, that they may serve and set forth God's glory after true knowledge: and therefore it is required of them, that they would be wise, and suffer themselves to be taught, to submit themselves to the Lord's discipline, and to kiss their sovereign, lest they perish; as all those potentates with their principalities and dominions cannot long prosper, but perish indeed, if they and their kingdoms be not ruled with the sceptre of God, that is, with his word; which whoso honoureth not, honoureth not God; and they that honour not the Lord, the Lord will not honour them, but bring them into contempt, and at the length take his own cause, which he hath most chiefly committed unto them to care for, into his own hands, and so overthrow them, and set up his truth gloriously; the people also perishing with the princes, where the word of prophecy is wanting—much more is suppressed, as it is now in this realm of England; over which the eyes of the Lord are set to destroy it, your highness, and all your honours, if in time you look not better to your office and duties herein, and not suffer yourselves to be slaves and hangmen to Antichrist and his prelates, which have brought your highness and honours already to let Barabbas loose, and to hang up Christ: as by the grace and help of God I shall make apparent, if, first, it would please your excellent majesty, and all your honours, to take to heart God's doctrine, which rather through the malice of the Pharisees (I mean the bishops and prelates) than your consciences, is oppressed; and not for our contemptible and execrable state in the sight of the world, to pass the less of it. For it (the doctrine, I mean) is higher and of more honour and majesty, than all the whole world. It standeth invincible above all power, being not our doctrine, but the doctrine of the ever-living God, and of his Christ, whom the Father hath ordained king, to have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river unto the ends of the world. And truly so doth he and will he reign, that he will shake all the whole earth with his iron and brazen power, with his golden and silvery brightness, only by the rod of his mouth, to shivers, in such sort as though they were pots of clay, according to that which the prophets do write of the magnificence of his kingdom. And thus much for the thing, I mean the doctrine, and your duties to hearken, to propagate, and defend the same.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Differ-
ence be-
tween
kings and
tyrantsGood
warning
to queen
Mary.Princes
made
slaves to
Anti-
christ.Christ or-
dained to
bear do-
minion
over all.

But now will our adversaries mainly cry out against us, because no man may be admitted once to whist against them, that we pretend falsely the doctrine and word of God; calling us the most wicked contemners of it, and heretics, schismatics, traitors, etc. All which their sayings, how malicious and false they are, though I might make report to that which is written by those men whose works they have condemned, and all that retain any of them, publicly by proclamation: yet here will I occasion your majesty and honours, by this my writing, to see that it is far otherwise than they report of us. God our Father, for his holy name's sake, direct my pen to be his instrument to put into your eyes, ears, and hearts, that which most may make to his glory, to the safeguard of your souls and bodies, and preservation of the whole realm. Amen.

Christ's
martyrs
falsely be-
lieved of the
prelates
for here-
tics and
schisma-
tics.

John Bradford.

To certain of his Friends, N. S., and R. C.

I wish to you, my good brethren, the same grace of God in Christ, which I wish and pray the Father of mercies to give me, for his holy name's sake. Amen.

Your letter, though I have not read myself, because I would not alienate my mind from conceived things, to write to others, yet I have heard the sum of it, that it is of God's election; wherein I will briefly write to you my faith, and how I think it good and meet for a christian man to wade in it. I believe, that man, made after the image of God, did fall from that blessed state, to the condemnation of himself, and all his posterity. I believe that Christ for man being thus fallen did appose himself to the justice of God, a mediator, paying the ransom and price of redemption for Adam and his whole posterity that refuse it not finally. I believe, that all that believe in Christ, (I speak of such as be of years of discretion,) are partakers of Christ and all his merits. I believe that faith, and to believe in Christ (I speak not now of faith that men have by

A letter
to certain
persons
being at
that time
not thor-
oughly
instructed
in the doc-
trine of
God's
election.
True
faith.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

reason of miracles,¹ or by reason of earthly commodity, custom and authority of men, which is commonly seen—the hearts of them that so believe, being not right and simple before God:² but I speak of that faith which indeed is the true faith, the justifying and regenerating faith): I believe, I say, that this faith and belief in Christ, is the work and gift of God, given to none other than to those which be the children of God; that is, to those whom God the Father, before the beginning of the world, hath predestinated in Christ unto eternal life.³

Thus do I wade in predestination, in such sort as God hath patefied and opened it. Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is last opened. And therefore I begin with creation, from whence I come to redemption, so to justification, and so to election. On this sort I am sure, that warily and wisely a man may walk in it easily by the light of God's Spirit, in and by his word, seeing this faith not to be given to all men,⁴ but to such as are born of God, predestinate before the world was made, after the purpose and good will of God: which will we may not call into disputation, but in trembling and fear submit ourselves to it, as to that which can will none otherwise than that which is holy, right, and good, how far soever otherwise it seem to the judgment of reason, which must needs be beaten down to be more careful for God's glory than for man's salvation, which dependeth only thereon, as all God's children full well see: for they seek not the glory which cometh of men, but the glory which cometh of God.⁵ They know God to be a God which doth on earth, not only mercy, but also judgment, which is his justice, and most justice; although our foolish reason cannot see it. And in this knowledge they glory and rejoice, though others, through vain curiosity, grudge and murmur there-against. Thus briefly I have sent you my mind and meaning concerning this matter. Hereafter you shall have (I think) your letter particularly answered by master Philpot; as also, if I have time, and so you require it, I will do.

John Bradford.

NOTES UPON THE SAME EPISTLE, AND TO THE MATTER OF ELECTION⁶ APPERTAINING.

As touching the doctrine of election (whereof this letter of master Bradford, and many other his letters more do much entreat) three things must be considered.

1. First, What God's election is, and what is the cause thereof.
2. Secondly, How God's election proceedeth in working our salvation.
3. Thirdly, To whom God's election pertaineth, and how a man may be certain thereof.

Between predestination and election, this difference there is: predestination is as well to the reprobate, as to the elect; election pertaineth only to them that be saved.

Predestination, in that it respecteth the reprobate, is called reprobation: in that it respecteth the saved, is called election, and is thus defined:

Predestination is the eternal decreement of God, purposed before in himself, what shall befall on all men, either to salvation or damnation.

Election is the free mercy and grace of God in his own will,

(1) John ii. Acts viii.

(2) Matt. xiii.

(3) N.B. For the certainty of this faith, search your hearts. If you have it, praise the Lord, for you are happy, and therefore cannot finally perish; for then happiness were not happiness, if it could be lost. When you fall, the Lord will put under his hand, that you shall not lie still. But if ye feel not this faith, then know that predestination is too high a matter for you to be disputers of, the grammar-school, wherein we must be conversant and learned before we go to the university of God's most holy predestination and providence.

(4) 2 Thess. iii.

(5) Jer. ix. John v.

(6) Of this matter he writeth more at large in the book of Letters of the Martyrs; [edit. 1837, London page 62.—Ed.]

through faith in Christ his Son, choosing and preferring to life such as pleaseth him.

In this definition of election, first goeth before, "the mercy and grace of God," as the causes thereof, whereby are excluded all the works of the law, and merits of deserving, whether they go before faith, or come after. So was Jacob chosen, and Esau refused, before either of them began to work, etc.

Secondly, in that this mercy and grace of God in this definition is said to be "free," thereby is to be noted the proceeding and working of God not to be bounded to any ordinary place, or to any succession of chair, nor to state and dignity of person, nor to worthiness of blood, etc.; but all goeth by the mere will of his own purpose; as it is written, "The wind bloweth where it listeth."¹ And thus was the outward race and stock of Abraham after the flesh refused (which seemed to have the pre-eminence); and another seed after the Spirit raised up to Abraham of the stones, that is, of the Gentiles. So was the outward temple of Jerusalem and chair of Moses, which seemed to be of price, forsaken, and God's chair advanced in other nations. So was tall Saul refused, and little David accepted: the rich, the proud, the wise of this world rejected, and the word of salvation daily opened to the poor and miserable abjects; the high mountains cast under, and the low valleys exalted, etc.

Thirdly, where it is added "in his own will," by this falleth down the free will and purpose of man, with all his actions, counsels, and strength of nature; according as it is written, "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy:"² so we see how Israel ran long, and yet got nothing. The Gentiles unneeth began to set out, and yet got the game. So they which came at the first hour did labour more; and yet they which came last, were rewarded with the first.³ The working will of the Pharisee seemed better; but yet the Lord's will was rather to justify the publican.⁴ The elder son had a better will to tarry by his father, and so did indeed; and yet the fat calf was given to the younger son that ran away,⁵ whereby we are to understand, how the matter goeth, not by the will of man, but by the will of God; as it pleaseth him to accept, according as it is written, "Which are born, not of the will of the flesh, nor yet of the will of man, but of God."⁶ Furthermore, as all then goeth by the will of God only, and not by the will of man: so again here is to be noted, that this will of God never goeth without faith in Christ Jesus his Son.

And therefore, fourthly, is this clause added in the definition, "Through faith in Christ his Son:" which faith in Christ to us-ward maketh all together. For first, it certifieth us of God's election; as this epistle of master Bradford doth well express: for whosoever will be certain of election in God, let him first begin with his faith in Christ; which if he find in him to stand firm, he may be sure, and nothing doubt, but that he is one of the number of God's elect. Secondly, the said faith, and nothing else, is the only condition and means whereupon God's mercy, grace, election, vocation, and all

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

The parts of the definition examined.

Mercy and grace. Free mercy and grace.

The free mercy and grace of God in his own will.

John i. God's mercy in saving the elect ever includeth the condition of faith in Christ.

The free grace of God in his own good will, through faith in Christ.

(1) "Spiritus ubi vult, spirat," etc.

(2) "Non est volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei," etc.

(3) Matt. xx.

(4) Luke xviii.

(5) Luke xv.

(6) "Non ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt," etc.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Faith
only is
the im-
mediate
cause of
our justi-
fying.Grace,
election,
vocation,
faith, jus-
tification,
glorifica-
tion.Man's
free will,
blind for-
tune,
wisdom,
learning,
and
merits,
works of
the law,
excluded
from the
causes of
our salva-
tion in
Christ.Papists
confound
the doc-
trine of
election.

God's promises to salvation, do stay, according to the words of St. Paul, "If ye abide in the faith."¹ Thirdly, this faith also is the immediate and next cause of our justification simply, without any other condition annexed. For as the mercy of God, his grace, election, vocation, and other precedent causes, do save and justify us upon condition, if we believe in Christ: so this faith only in Christ, without condition, is the next and immediate cause, which, by God's promise, worketh our justification; according as it is written, "Believe in the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy whole house."² And thus much touching the definition of election, with the causes thereof declared; which you see now to be no merits, nor works of man, whether they go before or come after faith, but only the mere mercy of God through faith. For like as all they that be born of Adam, do taste of his malediction, though they tasted not his apple: so all they that be born of Christ (which is by faith), take part of the obedience of Christ, although they never did that obedience themselves, which was in him.³

Now to the second consideration, let us see likewise, how and in what order this election of God proceedeth, in choosing and electing them which he ordaineth to salvation; which order is this. In them that be chosen to life, first, God's mercy and free grace bringeth forth election; election worketh vocation, or God's holy calling; which vocation, through hearing, bringeth knowledge and faith of Christ. Faith through promise, obtaineth justification; justification through hope, waiteth for glorification.

Election is before time. Vocation and faith come in time. Justification and glorification are without end.

Election, depending upon God's free grace and will, excludeth all man's will, blind fortune, chance, and all peradventures.

Vocation, standing upon God's election, excludeth all man's wisdom, cunning, learning, intention, power, and presumption.

Faith in Christ, proceeding by the gift of the Holy Ghost, and freely justifying man by God's promise, excludeth all other merits of men, all condition of deserving, and all works of the law, both God's law and man's law, with all other outward means whatsoever.

Justification coming freely by faith, standeth sure by promise, without doubt, fear, or wavering in this life.

Glorification, pertaining only to the life to come, by hope is looked for.

Grace and mercy preventeth.

Election ordaineth.

Vocation prepareth and receiveth the word, whereby cometh faith.

Faith justifieth.

Justification bringeth glory.

Election is the immediate and next cause of vocation.

Vocation (which is the working of God's Spirit by the word) is the immediate and next cause of faith.

Faith is the immediate and next cause of justification.

And this order and connexion of causes is diligently to be observed, because of the papists, which have miserably confounded

(1) "Si permanseritis in fide," etc. Col. i.

(2) "Crede in Dominum Jesum, et salvus eris, tu et domus tua." Acts xvi.

(3) Rom. v.

and inverted this doctrine, thus teaching, that Almighty God, so far forth as he foreseeth man's merits before to come, so doth he dispense his election. "Dominus prout cujusque merita fore prævidet, ita dispensat electionis gratiam." And again, "Nullis præcedentibus meritis Dominum rependere electionis gratiam, futuris tamen concedere:" that is, that the Lord recompenseth the grace of election, not to any merits preceding; but yet granteth the same to the merits which follow: as though we had our election by our holiness that followeth after, and not rather have our holiness by God's election going before.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

But we, following the Scripture, say otherwise, that the only cause of God's election, is his own free mercy; and the only cause of our justification is our faith in Christ, and nothing else. As for example; first concerning election, if the question be asked, Why was Abraham chosen, and not Nahor? Why was Jacob chosen, and not Esau? Why was Moses elected, and Pharaoh hardened? Why David accepted, and Saul refused? Why few be chosen, and the most forsaken? It cannot be answered otherwise than thus: because it was so the good will of God.

Election.

In like manner touching vocation,¹ and also faith, if the question be asked, why this vocation and gift of faith was given to Cornelius the Gentile, and not to Tertullus the Jew? why to the poor, to the babes, and little ones of this world? (of whom Christ speaketh, "I thank thee Father, which hast hid this from the wise," etc.²) why to the unwise, the simple, abjects and outcasts in this world? (of whom speaketh St. Paul, "Ye see your calling, my brethren, how not many of you,"³ etc.) why to the sinners, and not to the just? why were the beggars by the high-ways called, and the bidden guests excluded? We can go to no other cause, but to God's purpose and election, and say with Christ our Saviour, "Yea, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight."⁴

Vocation
bringeth
faith.

And so for justification likewise—if the question be asked, why the publican was justified, and not the Pharisee?⁵ why Mary the sinner, and not Simon the inviter?⁶ why harlots and publicans go before the scribes and Pharisees in the kingdom?⁷ why the son of the free-woman was received, and the bond-woman's son, being his elder, rejected?⁸ why Israel, which so long sought for righteousness, found it not; and the Gentiles, which sought not for it, found it?⁹—we have no other cause hereof to render, but to say with St. Paul, "Because they sought for it by works of the law, and not by faith:" which faith, as it cometh not by man's will (as the papist falsely pretendeth), but only by the election and free gift of God; so it is only the immediate cause whereunto the promise of our salvation is annexed, according as we read: "And therefore of faith is the inheritance given as after grace, that the promise might stand sure to every seed."¹⁰ Item, in the same chapter, "Faith, believing in him which justifieth the wicked, is imputed to righteousness."

Justifica-
tion by
faith only.

How faith
and elec-
tion are
linked to-
gether in
the act of
justifying.

And thus concerning the causes of our salvation, ye see how faith in Christ, only and immediately, without any condition, doth justify

(1) That vocation he meaneth here, which is after purpose.

(2) Matt. xi.

(3) 1 Cor. i.

(4) "Quia, Pater, sic complacitum est ante te." Luke x.

(5) Luke xviii.

(6) Luke xi.

(7) Matt. xxi.

(8) Gen. xxi.

(9) Rom. ix.

(10) Rom. iv.

Marg.

A. D.
1555.

Election
known to
God
simply.

Election
known to
man by
means.

Faith is
the mean
whereby
we be cer-
tified of
our elec-
tion.

us, being so linked with God's mercy and election, that wheresoever election goeth before, there faith in Christ must needs follow after. And again, whosoever believeth in Christ Jesus, through the vocation of God, he must needs be partaker of God's election.

Whereupon resulteth now the third note or consideration ; which is to consider whether a man in this life may be certain of his election. To answer to which question, this first is to be understood ; that although our election and vocation simply indeed be known to God only in himself, *à priori* ; yet notwithstanding it may be known to every particular faithful man, *à posteriore* ; that is, by means, which means is faith in Christ Jesus crucified. Forasmuch as by his faith in Christ a man is justified, and thereby made the child of salvation, reason must needs lead the same to be then the child of election, chosen of God unto everlasting life ; for how can a man be justified but he must needs be saved ? and how can a man be saved, but by consequence it followeth, that he must also be elected ?

And therefore of election it is truly said, " We must judge of election by that which cometh after,"¹ that is, by our faith and belief in Christ : which faith, although in time it followeth after election, yet this is the proper and immediate cause assigned by the Scripture which not only justifieth us, but also certifieth us of this election of God.

Election
first
known to
God, and
last
opened
to man.

Whereunto likewise well agreeth this present letter of master Bradford, wherein he saith, " Election, albeit in God it be the first, yet to us it is the last opened. And therefore beginning first," saith he, " with creation, I come from thence to redemption, and justification by faith, and so to election." Not that faith is the cause efficient of election, being rather the effect thereof, but is to us the cause certificatory, or the cause of our certification, whereby we are brought to the feeling and knowledge of our election in Christ. For albeit that election first be certain in the knowledge of God ; yet in our knowledge, faith only that we have in Christ, is the thing that giveth to us our certificate and comfort of this election.

Every
man to
stay him-
self upon
God's
general
promise.

Wherefore, whosoever desireth to be assured that he is one of the elect number of God, let him not climb up to heaven to know, but let him descend into himself, and there search his faith in Christ the Son of God ; which if he find in him not feigned, by the working of God's holy Spirit accordingly, thereupon let him stay, and so wrap himself wholly, both body and soul, under God's general promise, and cumber his head with no further speculations ; knowing this, that " Whosoever believeth in him, shall not perish,"² " shall not be confounded,"³ " shall not see death,"⁴ " shall not enter into judgment,"⁵ " shall have everlasting life,"⁶ " shall be saved,"⁷ " shall have remission of all his sins,"⁸ " shall be justified,"⁹ " shall have floods flowing out of him of water of life,"¹⁰ " shall never die,"¹¹ " shall be raised in the last day,"¹² " shall find rest to his soul, and shall be refreshed."¹³

What
faith is.
Divers
kinds.

Now then, forasmuch as we see faith to be the ground whereupon dependeth the whole condition of our justifying, let us discuss, in like manner, what is this faith whereof the Scripture so much speaketh, for the more plain understanding of the simple. For many kinds

(1) " De electione judicandum est à posteriore."

(2) John iii.

(3) Rom. ix.

(4) John viii.

(5) John v.

(6) John iii. vii.

(7) Matt. xxviii.

Acts xvi.

(8) Acts x.

(9) Rom. iii.

Gal. ii.

(10) John vii.

(11) John xi.

(12) John vi.

(13) Matt. xi.

there be of faith : as a man may believe every thing that is true, yet not every truth doth save, neither doth the believing of every truth justify a man. He that believeth that God created all things of nought, believeth truly. He that believeth that God is a just God, that he is omnipotent, that he is merciful, that he is true of promise, believeth well, and holdeth the truth. So he that believeth that God hath his election from the beginning, and that he also is one of the same elect and predestinate, hath a good belief, and thinketh well : but yet this belief alone, except it be seasoned with another thing, will not serve to salvation : as it availed not the old Jews, which so thought of themselves, and yet think to this day, to be God's only elect people.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Every truth hath its faith, but every truth justifieth not, no more doth every faith.

The only faith which availeth to salvation is that, whose object is the body and passion of Jesus Christ crucified. So that in the act of justifying, these two, faith and Christ, have a mutual relation, and must always concur together ; faith as the action which apprehendeth, Christ as the object which is apprehended.

Faith and Christ correlatives.

For neither doth the passion of Christ save without faith, neither doth faith help, except it be in Christ : as we see the body of man sustained by bread and drink, not except the same be received and conveyed into the stomach : and yet neither doth the receiving of every thing sustain man's body, except it be meat and drink, which have power to give nourishment. In like sort it is with faith ; for neither doth the believing of every thing save, but only faith in the blood of Christ : neither again doth the same blood of Christ profit us, except by faith it be received. And as the sun, being the cause of all light, shineth not but to them only which have eyes to see ; nor yet to them neither, unless they will open their eyes to receive the light : so the passion of Christ is the efficient cause of salvation, but faith is the condition whereby the said passion is to us effectual.

Christ without faith, saveth not. Faith without Christ helpeth not.

And that is the cause why we say with the Scripture, that faith only justifieth us, not excluding thereby all other external causes that go before faith, as grace, mercy, election, vocation, the death of Christ, etc., all which be external causes, working our salvation through faith. But when we say that faith only justifieth us, the meaning thereof is this : that of all internal actions, motions, or operations in man, given to him of God, there is none other that contenteth and pleaseth God, or standeth before his judgment, or can help any thing to the justifying of man before him, but only this one action of faith in Jesus Christ the Son of God.

Grace, election, vocation, Christ's death, causes external of our salvation.

For although the action of praying, fasting, alms, patience, charity, repentance, the fear and love of God, be high gifts in man, and not of man, given of God to man, yet be none of all these actions in man imputed of God to salvation, but only this one action of faith in man upon Christ Jesus the Son of God. Not that the action itself of believing, as it is a quality in man, doth so deserve, but because it taketh that dignity of the object. For as I said, the act of justifying faith, as it is an action in man, is not to be considered alone, but must ever go with its object, and taketh its virtue thereof. Like as the looking up of the old Israelites did not of itself procure any health unto them, but the promise made in the object, which was the brazen serpent, whereupon they looked, gave them health by their

Virtues and works of charity, though they be good gifts of God in man, yet they serve not to justification.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

The error
of the pa-
pists per-
verting
the mind
of God's
testa-
ment,
how, and
wherein.

looking up: even so, after like sort, are we saved by faith and spiritual looking up to the body of Christ crucified; which faith to define is this: to believe Jesus Christ to be the son of the living God, sent into this world, by his death to satisfy for our sins, and so to receive the same.

And thus much touching election and faith; with the order and explication of the causes necessary to be considered in our salvation, whereby may appear how far the pretended Catholics do swerve from the right mind of the Scriptures. For whereas the Scriptures, in declaring the causes of salvation, do send us only to faith, as the only condition whereby these causes have their working, these Catholics do quite leave out faith, and, instead thereof, place in other conditions of doings, merits, will-works, pardons, masses, and especially auricular confessions, with penance and satisfaction for our sins, etc.

And besides these letters above specified of master John Bradford, there have come to our hands certain other letters of his, not long ago, sent by a certain old friend of the said John Bradford unto us: which letters being written of him in former times before his trouble, as they have not yet been printed nor seen abroad, so I thought it not amiss to communicate the same to the christian reader, for the worthiness of the matter, and the goodness of the man, which may redound, I trust, to no small fruit to him, that with godly eyes shall devise the same.

To Father Traves, Minister of Blackley (No. 1).

The abundant grace and rich mercy of God in Christ our only Saviour and high bishop, be increased in your heart, through the lively worker of all goodness, the Holy Spirit, until the day of the Lord, etc.

I have received your two letters, good father Traves, since that I did write any unto you, whereof though honesty willesh to make an excuse, yet truth biddeth me otherwise, and saith, it is better with shame to confess the fault (for therein is, as a man might say, half a deserving of pardon), than without shame to lie. I might have written unto you twice (notwithstanding indeed some business wherein I have something been occupied); but yet I have not. Now the cause is, because I would not. And why would I not, but because I could not? I mean, because my canning¹ is taken away by sin; for my sins do forbid goodness unto me. Indeed if my sinning were of infirmity, there were good hope of recovery of that which I have lost: but seeing, both willing and knowing I have too much yielded, and yet do yield to my infirmities, justly I do deserve, that because I have cast away and rejected the word of the Lord behind my back, the Lord should reject me; and because I would not have blessing, I am worthy (as David saith) that it be taken away from me: I have now at length experience, that to bring a man forth of God's favour, is sooner seen when a man hath received all things abundantly, than when need or the cross pincheth. Afore it pleased God to work the restitution (you know what I mean), and afore it pleased God to provide for me as he hath done, so that I can say in nothing where any want is, as pertaining to my body: I was another manner of man, than now I am, and yet God's deserts have otherwise bounden me: but the scripture is true, "I have advanced my children, and nourished them, but they have contemned me; I have fed them that they were fat and gross, and they spurned against me."² Perchance you will ask me wherein? O, father Traves, I warrant you, this my style, in carnal, and not in spiritual writing, doth something show unto you; but as for it, in comparison of other things it is nothing. For whereas the life of man is such, that either it paireth or amendeth, as Paul saith, "The outward man is corrupted day by day;" and therefore, except the inward man be renewed, the shoe goeth awry; "every

(1) "Canning," ability.—Ed.

(2) Dent. xxxii.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

building in Christ doth grow to a holy temple," as the wicked on the contrary part shall proceed to worsen.¹ I have made a change far otherwise in going back, than I think by letters I can persuade you. Wherein, will you say? For the first, second, and third, and, to be brief, in all things: as for an example, God's true fear is flown away from me; love to my brethren is exiled from me; faith is utterly taken away. Instead whereof are distrust and doubtfulness bearing rule, contempt of God's honour, and of my brethren reigning, and instead of true fear, an imagined fear, according to my brain holding the principality. For I extenuate sin, and I do not consider that in sin, which a Christian ought to consider; that sin being not forgiven, is such a thing for the which God casteth his creature away, as examples, not only of Saul, of Judas, of the Israelites (which were beloved indeed, and yet for sin are rejected), but also of others, on whom lately, for my warning, God hath showed the same, do admonish me. But it is but my pen which writes this: "For the wicked," saith Solomon, "when they come into the depth of their sins, then they grow in security."² I am, I cannot tell what: I fear, but it is but blindly, or else would I awake otherwise than I do; I fear me, I say, that I am entangled of the devil, after his desire. Pray for me, that the Lord would give me repentance, that I may escape out of his snares. Alas! the spirit of prayer, which before I have felt plentifully, is taken clean away from me. The Lord be merciful unto me! I am sold under sin;³ I am the bond-slave of sin: for whom I obey, his servant I am. I am ashamed to speak of it?—No, I shame not at all: for I have forgot to blush, I have given over to weep. And truly I obey; I obey, I say, mine own concupiscences, namely in eating, in drinking, in jangling and idleness; I will not speak of vain-glory, envy, disdain, hypocrisy, desire of estimation, self-love, and who can tell all? Is this the reward thou renderest to God, O Bradford? It is true, yea too true, thou knowest it, O Lord! for thy mercy's sake pardon me. In your letters you touch me home, how that there is no man's heart but that considering the ingratitude of this world, this belly-cheer (wherein you even take me by the nose), etc., his eyes would tumble out great gushes of tears. The Lord be praised which worketh so in you, for it is with me as with them of whom you complain. Indeed it may be so again, but oh! it is very unlikely: for mine enemies are become old, and are made by custom more than familiar; for they are as it were converted into nature in me. Yet I am not grieved therefore, although I cannot persuade myself that God will help me. O Lord, be merciful unto me for thy Christ's sake. This day I received the Lord's Supper, but how I have welcomed him, this night (which I have spent in lasciviousness, in wantonness and prodigality, obeying my flesh and belly) doth so declare, that what to say, or write any more, I know not; sleep doth aggravate mine eyes, and to pray I am altogether unapt. All this is come through the occasion of making this bringer a supper in my chamber: the Lord pardon me; I trust no more to be so far overseen. But this I write, not that the anger of God, which I have deserved, so feareth me, thou knowest it, O Lord. But of this perchance too much.

For God's sake pray for me, good father Traves, and write unto me as you may by your weakness: your letters do me good. But this which I have now written, you may consider more: touch me therefore home in your letters, and the Lord, I trust, shall and will reward you. If God lend me life, of which I am most unworthy, I will more trouble you with my letters than I have done; but bear with me, I do it not out of any evil will, the Lord I take to judge; there is none whose company and talk I more desire than yours, I speak it before God. Prove my mother's mind how she can bear it, if when I shall come down, I shall show myself another man outwardly, but alas! feignedly, than before I have done. Marry, when my coming will be, I know not. Indeed two things move me sore, the one for my mother's cause, concerning her better instruction, if the Lord would thereto use me his instrument; the other is to talk with you, and eftsoons to trouble you, as I have hitherto ever done, but always to my profit. For God's sake pray for me, for I had never so much need.—This Sunday at night, following St. Andrew's day, at Pembroke-hall.

The most miserable, hard-hearted, unthankful sinner,

John Bradford.

(1) 2 Tim. iii.

(2) Prov. xiv. 16.

(3) 2 Tim. ii.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

To Sir Thomas Hall, by Father Traves, of Blackley.

The grace of God our most merciful Father, keep your mind and soul in Christ Jesus, who alone is our full sufficient Saviour, for in him we be complete, being made, through his death and one only oblation made and offered by himself upon the cross, the children of God, and fellow-heirs with him of the celestial kingdom, which is the free gift of God, and cometh not of merits, but of the mere grace of God, given to none that putteth any manner of hope or trust in any other thing visible or invisible, than in that oblation of sweet savour which Christ himself did offer upon Good Friday (as we call it), which oblation is always recent and new in the sight of God the Father, and maketh intercession for us: us I mean, which think that only Sacrifice, then offered, to be sufficient, as it is, hath been, and ever shall be, for all the faithful, by the which sacrifice we believe) we have free pardon of all our sins. To him therefore which was both the offerer, and the offering, be all honour and praise, with the Father and said the Holy Ghost, blessed for ever: Amen.

Sir Thomas, the occasion of this my long silence, mine old friend John Traves shall declare unto you, upon the knowledge whereof I doubt not of your pardon. I have sent unto you an English and Latin Testament, both in one print and volume, the which, though it be not so beautiful without, as I could have sent you, yet no less beautiful within, and more I think for your profit and better for your eyes, your eyes I mean of the body: for undoubtedly it giveth light unto the soul, if she be not dead. Whereof take this for an argument, and a true proof: If your soul be not delighted in it, if your soul do not hunger for it (I mean not the book, but the doctrine in the book), surely your soul is sore sick; for as the body abhorring meat is not well, even so must the soul be, for other meat hath she none. Christ, whom you must believe afore all men, affirmeth this to be true in Matt. iv.: "Not only in bread, but in every word of God, the soul doth live." Mark well, he saith not, one or two words, as an epistle, or a gospel; but he saith, every word. Take heed, believe Christ better than any man, be he never so holy; for he that is of God' heareth the word of God. Will you have a more plain badge, whether you are the elect child of God or no, than this text? Christ saith, "He that is of God, heareth the word of God:" but other word of God have we none, than in the canon of the Bible: and all things written therein, are written for our learning, saith St. Paul, whereby he proveth, seeing that it is a learning, yea *our* learning, that we must learn it. Therefore woe be to all them which either persuade men, that there is other doctrine of like authority, or that dissuade men from embracing this word, this word of God, or that think this word, especially the New Testament, is not above all others to be loved, to be read, to be chewed. This is the precious stone, which in the gospel Christ saith, when a man hath found, he selleth all that ever he hath, and buyeth it. Mark now, how necessary and precious Christ maketh that which great learned men (nay the devils but no men) think not necessary, God help them! Christ bade his disciples sell their coats, and buy a sword: which is none other thing than the word of God; for so St. Paul calleth it, "the sword of the Spirit." Nay, say our great learned men (I lie, they *have* said so, *now* they are ashamed), fetch fire and burn it.

This I say, sir Thomas, to the intent no ungodly hypocrisy should persuade or dissuade you from reading the holy word of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ. Follow you St. Paul's lesson: attend reading, and let the word of God dwell in you. How much? Plentifully, saith he. And to what end? To feed the flock of Christ: "even as much as in you is," saith Peter; not once a year or once a quarter as a strawberry,² but so much as in you is. This word of God trieth all doctrine; for we ought to have our conscience charged with nothing as touching religion, except the word of God in the canon of the Bible set it out (I mean not only in allegories, but even in plain words); for no other foundation can any man lay, beside that which is laid. St. Paul saith, the groundwork is laid already. Even so, saith he to the Ephesians: "We be his workmanship, to do good works, which God hath created that we should walk in them." He saith that they were not to be made, but they are made already. What shall we think, then, of such works as man's wit hath founded, which yet seem most holy? Let God's word be judge. Read the same diligently and

(1) John viii.

(2) See Appendix.—Ed.

reverently with prayer (I mean not Latin service not understood, but with true hearty prayer), and mark what the law requireth, even that which we cannot give, the whole heart, and more if it were possible. But to this end, that we, seeing our abominable uncleanness and inability, might despair in ourselves, trembling at the justice of God, and his anger which we continually procure, and so ampect Christ, in whom God the Father is well pleased: which Christ is the end of the law to justify all that believe, and continue not in their popish ignorance, justifying themselves, and treading Christ's blood under their feet, denying the Lord that bought them. All such, be they never so well learned, never so holy, be nothing but hypocrites, and plain Antichrists, which may not abide the sword of God's mouth. For the trumpets of the army (I mean, still God's word), when they blow, the high walls of Jericho, the figure of hypocrisy, fall down. Embrace therefore God's holy word, and be not only a reader, but a doer: for your calling requireth you to be apt to teach such proud, hypocritical, arrogant babblers, as I am now (which, if I may use this term, defile God's word). God forgive me, and pray you for me, and give God thanks for me, that spareth me thus Lucifer-like, not of a true zeal but of a foolish bragging, which prate of God's holy word. I wot not what I do to confess it. So it is. I have sent to you other books which I pray you read. I have written your name in them. The Holy Ghost keep you with your brother George, his wife, and children, and with your brother James, etc., Sir Laurence, etc.

This 20th of March.

A very painted hypocrite, John Bradford,

Yours in Christ for ever.

Pray for me, pray for me, give God thanks for me, and take John Traves's help to read this letter written in haste.

If any thing but good be chanced to John Traves (which God forbid), I pray you burn my letters out of hand.

To Father Traves (No. 2).

"*Gratia, misericordia, et pax à Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo Domino nostro.*"—If mine heart were not altogether adamantine, your kind letters to me, unkind miser, would cause me, from the bottom of the same, to confess mine ingratitude towards you, upon your behalf anempst me so much deserved: but as I am to do, so show I myself to write; and as I am unable in the one, so am I foolish in the other; in all those unkindnesses, rudeness, etc., whereof you accuse yourself, I am enforced to acknowledge myself most justly condemned; not so feignedly by me confessed, as most truly by you experienced. In your letters as in a glass I may learn by you, in dejecting yourself, to espy my nakedness, which heretofore I thought clothed "*duplici vestitu*," now only but with fig leaves hypocritishly gilded, of which dejection, wrought in you by the Holy Ghost, be not proud: for what have you that you have not received? But be thankful to the Lord, not only therefore, but also for those surges which you feel now through the cares accompanying marriage, now through education and bringing up of your children and family, now through that cross of the common accustomed trade of living: for "*through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of heaven.*" Yea they be the cognizances of God's election, the letter *Thau*, the instruments which work "*suspiria æternæ vitæ*," and therefore to be embraced. Believe me this is the most excellent gift of God; a man to deject and humble himself, and to feel the crosses of Christ as crosses. But I, most hypocritical wretch, not worthy that this earth should bear me, am even a-going to bed with Jesabel, and such as commit fornication with her, which is, "*afflictio maxima.*" O Lord, help me and deliver me for Jesus' sake; anoint mine eyes with ointment, that I may see. O give me not over unto a lewd mind and reprobate sense; but awaken my sleeping soul, that Christ may shine in me. You know the cross, the fatherly cross, the loving Lord hath laid upon me; but I am little or nothing moved therewith. I work therein (yet not I, but God's Spirit); not of a repentant faithful mind, but (I cannot tell how) of a slothful, blind, wretchless intent. O Lord! forgive me for saying so (it is thy gift); forgive me mine unthankfulness for Jesus' sake, and grant me, as herein I blasphemed and dishonested thy holy name, so do thou, by thy Holy Spirit, glorify by me the same. So be it So be it.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

See
Appendix.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Since my coming to London, I was with master Latimer, whose counsel is as you shall hear, which I purpose, by God's grace to obey (if it be thy will, O Lord, *fiat.*) He willed me (as I have done) to write to my master who is in the country, and to show him, that if within a certain time which I appointed (fourteen days), he do not go about to make restitution, that I will submit myself to my lord protector, and the king's majesty's council to confess the fault, and ask pardon. This life is uncertain and frail; and when time is, it must not be deferred. And what should it profit me to win the whole world, and to lose mine own soul? If, as I justly have deserved, I be put to death for it, God's will be done. At the least, slander, reproach, rebuke, loss of worldly friends, loss of living, etc., shall ensue. What then? Lord, thy will be done, thine I am: if death come, welcome be it: if slander, etc. Even as thou wilt Lord, so be it. Only grant me a penitent, loving, obedient heart, and of mere love to go forwards herein; and not to shrink, to stand and not to fall, that thy name only be praised herein. Amen.—Pray, pray for me; cry for me, and when you shall hear any thing, comfort my mother, to whom, for that this bringer hath not given me an hour's warning of his departure, I have not only written nothing, but also have thus prattled to you, who (as no man else would) I think will bear with me. For as God knoweth (to whose grace I commit you and your bed-fellow, with all your children and family), the shortness of time, and this said bringer's importance, is the only let I neither send you spectacles, the price of the Paraphrases, nor thanks for your cheese, as by the next that cometh I will, God willing, send the premises to you, and a godly Testament for Sir John Hall, which is at the binding. But be not acknownd that I have now written to you, for so I have prayed this bringer. God be with us, and pray for me, and abhor not my rude scribbling; which if it were as well written as it is meant, would deserve pardon. Thus make I an end, imputing to the hastiness of this bringer all blame, which you may lay unto me.

From the Temple this Sunday, immediately after master Latimer's famous sermon, which this bringer, as he saith, did hear.

By your poorest friend,

John Bradford.

It shall not be long, God willing, but you shall both have and hear from me. Keep with you Melancthon's Common Places, for I have another.

To Father Traves (No. 3).

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, with increase of all manner of godly knowledge and living, be with you and all your household, now, and ever, Amen.

To excuse this my long silence, within five or six days after my (like foolish) letters written to you by John Moss; it pleased God to send my master hither to London, whom (as I lately before had advertised by letters) I moved (you know wherein), and prayed him to discharge the same, or else I would submit myself, etc. Whereunto he answered, that if the books would declare it, he would satisfy, etc. The books I showed, whereupon he promised as much as I could ask. But being herein something more moved than he had cause (God be praised there-for, which of his mere good pleasure wrought it), at times, as I could, I desired to know how and in what time he would discharge us both. He, thinking me to be over curious herein, was not therewith contented; and hearing me to allege the uncertainty of time, and the fear of God's justice (which, O gracious Lord, grant me to feel indeed as much as thou knowest good for me), he answered me to be scrupulous, and of a superstitious conscience (for "*animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Dei.*") and plainly said further, that I should not know, nor by these words have his head so under my girdle. And when I showed him that (God witnessed with me), I went about no such thing: he said, that there was no godly conscience, seeing he promised afore the face of God to discharge me, and to pay the thing, but it ought so to be quieted. And thus at divers and sundry times, moving oftsoons to know of him the way and time of discharging the debt, and having none other answers than before, I, doubting worldly wisdom, which useth delays, to reign in him with this mammon (the which, O merciful God, eradicate out of his heart, mind, and all others) I was something more sharp, and told him, "*non ego tamen, sed gratia tua, Domine,*" I would obey God more than man: the

 Mary.

 A. D.
1555.

which he lightly regarding, as seemed, I departed, and went to master Latimer, to have had him to have brought me to my lord protector (whose grace then was purposed shortly to take his journey to visit the ports) master Latimer, I say, willed me to stay until his return, which will not be long before Easter. In this mean time I bade my bedfellow, my master's son, whom my master had used as his instrument to move me carnally, for my master discharged him of his exhibition, telling him that he could not be able to keep either house or child, for I purposed to undo both him and all his (untruly, thou knowest, good Lord), and bade him to take that as a warning, that both he and his brethren should provide for themselves as they could,—I bade, I say, my said bedfellow to show my master, as of himself, my further purpose, which thing when he knew, it so moved and feared him, that he began something to relent, and then made fair promises, that look what I should devise, that would he do. I devised, but my devices pleased him not. And thus, but not vainly I trust (as I now do with you, but I know your gentleness which ever hath borne with me), I spent the time in which I have been silent, to write, nay babble to you. And he, departing out of London before I knew, did send me word by another of his said sons, not so given to the gospel and a good life according as my bedfellow, and therefore more to be suspected (for though “*pietas non est suspiciosa*,” as I should think myself rather *impious*; yet Christ bade us to be “*prudentes sicut serpentes*”), this other brother, I say, told me that my master would do all things, only his fame and ability preserved (“*et quid prodest totum mundum lucrari, animæ vero jacturam facere?*”) And with the said brother my master sent me a little billet also, wherein he confessed that he was contented within twelve months to deliver to my hands the whole money; which bill I thinking not so good as it might have been, have devised another, and have sent it down to him in the country, with request that he will seal and sign it. For thus master Latimer thinketh sufficient, but as yet I hear not of it, doubting worldly wisdom, which was the whore that overcame Samson, that moved David to slay Uriah, that brought wise Solomon to idolatry, that crucified Christ, the which moved me to perpetrate *hoc facinus*, the which worketh in my master's heart, having higher place there than *timor Domini*. What say I? “there?” Yea, yea, with me, it sitteth in the holy place (the Lord deliver us): doubting, I say, worldly wisdom, I remain in that same state now for this matter (though in worse for my soul, which is more to be lamented. Pray therefore, I beseech you, pray with me, and for me, that I may do so earnestly), that I was in at my last writing unto you. And as I then was purposed, so I doubt not (grant it Lord), but that I shall persevere, if in the mean season I shall not hear from my master accordingly. Thus I have (like myself) foolishly but truly declared unto you in many babbling words, which wit (if I had it) would have shortly and briefly comprehended (arrogant, nay God's working unthankful, wretch!) my working in this matter, which is and was the only cause (as I now do) I troubled you not afore, to the intent I might advertise you some certainty in this thing. And though silence had been much better than this foolish prating, yet your fatherly kindness ever towards me in expecting from you correction, as I have herein given cause, may, though not to you, yet to me, be profitable. In hope whereof, I proceed in requiring you to continue your remembrance of me, a most unkind wretch, to God and you, in your prayers with the almighty merciful Lord, that I may more regard his will and pleasure herein, than all honour or shame in this life. But I must confess unto you that my working in this matter is not of love, as I should do, nor of fear of God's justice (mine unthankfulness, mine unthankfulness, if nothing else were, hath not only deserved it, but doth deserve more than everlasting damnation, O Lord be merciful unto me), I do not so repent it as I should do. Why say I so? as though this so were any thing: O! hypocritical wretch that I am. Alas! father Traves, (let me so call you,) I am hard-hearted, there was never any so obstinate, so unkind, against so loving, so merciful, so gracious, so good, so beneficial a Lord, yea a Father, as I, wretch and most miserable sinner, am. This I speak, but not of humility, but of hypocrisy, yet I speak truly. I pray thee good Father, for Christ's sake, I may think it truly; as I write it even of arrogancy, so it is. Therefore pray and cry for me. Here be such goodly, godly, and learned sermons, which these uncircumcised ears of mine hear at the least thrice a week, which were able (the great loving mercy

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

of God offered to me in them, I mean) to burst any man's heart, to relent, to repent; to believe, to love, and to fear that omnipotent gracious Lord: but my adamantine, obstinate, most unkind, ingrate, unthankful heart, hearing my Lord, which is the Lord over all lords, so graciously, so lovingly, vouchsafe by so many his instruments to speak, to call, to cry unto me, now by his law, now by his threats, now by his gospel, now by his promises, now by all his creatures, to come, to come even to himself, I hide me with Adam in the garden; I play not only Samuel running to Eli, but I play Jonas running to the sea, and there I sleep upon the hatches, tumbling in Jesabel's bed (*quod est afflictio maxima*), until it please God to anoint mine eyes "*collyrio*," until it please him to raise up a tempest, to turn and look upon me, as Luke saith he did on Peter. For, O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of thee, and of thy mere grace; it cometh not of man, it cometh not of works, to repent, to believe, to fear, and to love. Work thou therefore in me, for Jesus Christ's sake, which am thy creature, and most unthankful hypocritical servant, not when I will, nor as I will, but when thou wilt, even that which may be most to the glory of thy name. Amen. What should I write? nay, why do I not pluck these same words and paper in pieces? for I write altogether of hypocrisy and arrogant presumption. I will confess it (thou wicked spirit, the Lord judge thee), I will confess it; it is most true, John Traves; I but only write it, for it is not I, it is Hypocrisy. "*Scientia*" (if I had it) "*inflaret*," O Lord, grant me thy grace, and leave me not to mine own judgment and reason. Hypocrisy, arrogancy, and obstinate security environ me: yet I feel them not. The Lord deliver me! Pray, pray for me. Give God thanks for me. O Lord, even "*tua fiat voluntas*:" unlock this mine heart, thou which hast the key of David, which openest only, that I may desire to have the desire of the glory of thy name, of repentance, faith, etc. Pray for me, and be thankful for me, O father Traves, and write to me. Your letters I desire more to see, than any man's living. Let me have them therefore as you may, but your prayers at all times, that God would open mine heart to feed and taste of these comfortable places of Scripture (which to me are locked): *memento "Jesum Christum resurrexisse ex mortuis."* This text as a text of most comfort (as it is indeed, and when God will, I shall feed on it) did Paul send to Timothy to be his comfort in all places. For our salvation (this day of resurrection) is nearer now than when we believed. Therefore, "*qui perseveraverit salvus erit.*" For "*consummabitur pravaricatio*," saith Daniel, "*finem accipiet peccatum, delebitur iniquitas, et adducetur justitia sempiterna. Deus enim ipse veniet et salvabit nos. Veniens veniet, et non tardabit, et quodcumque manifestatus fuerit vita nostra Christus, tunc et nos manifestabimur cum illo in gloria. Semel enim oblatum est ut multorum peccata tolleret, rursus absque peccato conspicietur iis qui illum expectant in salutem. Sic semper cum Domino erimus: proinde consolemini vos invicem mutuo sermonibus hiis.*" O Lord, open mine eyes, which see nothing of the great comforts in these thy most rich words: open mine eyes, good Lord, "*ne nunquam obdormiam in morte.*" Pray for me, and commend me to your good bedfellow, "*et omnibus in Christo fratribus osculo sancto.*" Thus I make an end (for it is time, you may say), and I pray you still, water sir Thomas Hall, unto whom I have sent a fair Testament both in English and Latin, if this bringer will carry it. And I have herewith sent you a letter, which first peruse and read, and, when you have so done, abhor not me, but my wickedness, and pray for me. And as you can see a meet time, seal it, and deliver it to sir Nicholas Wolstoncros, by such policy as you can think, by God's grace, through prayer. I confess unto you, God is my witness, to my knowledge, I never, in my being in the country this winter, at any time called it to remembrance; the Lord forgive me! I would by some occasion, if any could be had, afore the delivery of the letter, by some story or communication, that he did know that abomination to be sin, for I fear me he thinketh it to be no sin. The Lord open our eyes, and forgive us. Amen.—The peace of God be with you, Amen.

From the Temple, this 22d of March, 1547.

Yours in Christ most bounden,

John Bradford.

See
Appendix

I have sent you three pair of good spectacles, I trow; and other such books as have your name written in them, which take in good worth, and pray for me, and give thanks for me.

To Father Traves (No. 4).

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

"Gratia, misericordia, et pax," etc.—My chance is not by this bringer to have any warning in manner of his farewell, so that I am constrained, time coarcting me, to write not so much of things (which I will omit), as my desire was. Concerning the great matter you know of, it hath pleased God to bring it to this end, that I have a bill of my master's hand, wherein he is bound to pay the sum afore Candlemas next coming. This master Latimer thinks to be sufficient. Therefore I pray you to give that gracious Lord thanks, and thanks, and thanks upon it, for me a most wretched ingrate sinner, which have also in other things no less cause to praise God's name; as for that I have and sustain my master's sore displeasure, the which hath brought me (God I should say) through it, unto a more contempt of worldly things, through the sequestration of such his business, as before I had ado withal: I call it a contempt. Well, take the word even as it is hypocritically and vaingloriously spoken; for the which fault amongst my others innumerable, I trust you remember in your prayers, whereof I have (would I knew how much) need. There is yet another thing, whereof I will advertise you, even to this end; that you might pray, if it be God's will, that as I trust shortly to begin, so he may vouchsafe to confirm that he hath begun, as (if I be not deceived) I believe it is his working. If the thing seem, by God's Spirit in you, that I presume, then, for the Lord's sake, advertise me: for I am much given to that disease; the Lord deliver me! I have moved my master therein already by letters, to see if I shall have any living of him as hitherto I have had; but I have thereof no answer, nor as our natural speech is, any likelihood of any grant: yet that I have already, I trust, will suffice me for three years. You look what my purpose meaneth, I am so long afore I come to it. Therefore I do it, because my long babbling should be less tedious. Now shall you have it. If God's will be (whereunto pray I may be obedient), I am minded afore Midsummer to leave London to go to my book at Cambridge; and, if God shall give me grace, to be a minister of his word. Thus you have of a fly an elephant. Well, take it in good part, though you see my *etiam non*, and not *etiam, etiam*. A tumbling stone gathereth no moss: so therefore pray for me. Perchance I do foolishly to forsake so good a living as I have. I will say no more hereof, but pray for me. I trust, as I said, for three years' study I have sufficient, if my master take all from me: and when this is spent, God will send more. I do not write this that you should think me to be in need of worldly help, and therefore as friars were wont, secretly to beg. No, in the Lord's name, I require you not to take it so: for I had rather never send letter, afore I should be herein a cross to you, for "sufficit sua diei afflictio," we are more set by than many sparrows. But if my mother, or sir Thomas Hall, murmur at it, or be offended with me, as you can, remedy it with your counsel. Howbeit as yet I will not write to them of it, until such time as I be going. I am something fickle-minded and unconstant, therefore pray for me, that my hand being put to the plough (presumptuously spoken), I look not back. You may gather by my words in this letter the heroical heart which lieth in me.

I have sent you a book of Bucer¹ against Winchester, in English, lately translated, which I never read; therefore I cannot praise it. And as I call to remembrance, I did send you with the other books more than you received, at the least one of them I remember, which is called, The Common-places, or the Declaration of the Faith, by Urbanus Rhegius. Ask for it, or send me word in whom the default is, you have it not. Hereafter, and that shortly by God's grace, I will send you Primitiæ Laborum meorum, a work or two which I have translated into English, so soon as they be printed, which will be afore Whitsuntide. Pray for me, good father Traves, and God send you health of soul and body, as I would mine own or any man's living. But yet, to warn you of that you know not: in writing your letters to me, you hit me home, and give me that I look for. You are deceived, and so are all that know me; I

(1) Namely, "The Gratulation of the moste famous Clerke, Martin Bucer; and hys Answer unto the two rayling Epistles of Stevè, Bishoppe of Winchester, concerning the unmarried state of Præstes and Cloysterars, etc.; imprinted at London by R. Jugge." Dibdin's Ames's Typographical Antiquities, vol. iv. p. 264. The same work gives the title of the "Common Places," mentioned by Bradford, "A Declaration of the Twelve Articles of the Christen Faythe, with Annotations of the Holy Scripture, where they be grounded in," etc., by D. Urbanum Regium, 1548, p. 243. See also Strype's Mem. vol. ii. p. 106. Lond. 1816.—Ed.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

never came to any point of mortification, therefore a little tickling sets me afloat, God help me, and give God thanks for me, as all men be most bounden. Thus when I once begin to write to you, I run as the priest saith matins, for I think I may be bold on you. The Holy Ghost preserve you, your wife, and family, and persevere his grace in you unto the end. I pray you pray for me, a most (what should I call me) miserable and blasphemous sinner. The peace of God be with us

From the Temple, this 12th of May, 1548.

Sir Thomas Hall hath deceived me, but himself most. I desire to speak with him, as this winter it may chance, if I discharge not myself of mine office, to see him. Pray for him, and for me.

A very hypocrite,

John Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 5).

The perseverance of God's grace, with the knowledge of his good will, increase with you unto the end.—To declare myself, as I am, a carnal man, which understand not the things that be of the Spirit: these my letters, though I counterfeit and meddle amongst them the spiritual words, as the devil did in his temptations to Christ, will declare not less. For I begin with carnal things in effect, and no marvel if I so end: for how can a man gather figs of briars? These words, as they seem, so they are spoken for a cloak to make you think otherwise: but, father Traves, you cannot think so evil of me as I am: but to the matter. This present day, by God's grace, I take my journey towards Cambridge, where, I pray God, and so earnestly I pray you to pray for me, that I may circumspectly redeem this time which God hath appointed (to me unknown) to lend me: for alas! I have spent most wickedly the time past, for the which I must account, even for every hair-breadth, as they say: for God hath not given here time to sin. But if I considered this (as I do nothing less, custom of sin and pleasing myself hath so hardened my heart), I should then come to the feeling of myself; then should I hate sin, which I now love; then should I fear God's wrath, which I now contemn; then should I cry out and weep, and continually pray; whereas now, I am as dry as a stone, as dumb as a nail, as far from praying as he that never knew any taste of it. Which thing once I felt (thanks to the Lord); but now, for mine unthankfulness, I am almost (but most worthily) deprived. I fear me God will take his grace from me, I am so unthankful. Alas! why do I lie, in saying I fear me? Nay, God grant I may do so, for then should I pray and pray: but seeing I cannot, speak you for me, pray for me, that the Lord would remember his old compassions towards me, for his mercy's sake draw me, yea compel me, to serve, to fear, and to love him. Thus may you see how I presume: for my intent was to have been a minister of God's word, to have been his instrument to call from, as I have called to, sin; but you see how that God punisheth mine arrogance. Alas! what shall I do? I am an unprofitable and an idle member; I thought I should have been therein profitable, but *Medice, cura te ipsum*. How should I, or what should I do? I cannot labour with my hands. Well, I trust God will give me grace and knowledge to translate. Nothing I fear me, yea I distrust me, that I shall never be minister of God's word: yea, if arrogance were not in me, how should I, of all wretches the greatest, think me to look to the highest room and vocation that is upon earth? Therefore oftsoons I desire you to pray for me, that God's will may be done in me, whether I live or die, so that his name be honoured. My master which was, hath denied me all his beneficence, but I have for this life more than enough, thanks be to God, as this winter I intend, by God's favour, to declare more unto you. This book which I have sent, take it in good part; it is the first, I trust it shall not be the last, God hath appointed me to translate. The print is very false, I am sorry for it. I pray you be not offended at my babbling in the Prologues, etc.

John Bradford.

I will lie, God willing, this summer, at Katherine's Hall in Cambridge. Write to me.

To Father Traves (No. 6).

The loving kindness and abundant mercy of God the Father, poured plentifully upon all the faithful, in the blood of that meek Lamb, Jesus Christ, our

only satisfaction and mediator, through the working of the most Holy Spirit, be increased, and perceived in you daily more and more, to the glory of God, etc.

Because I stand both in doubt of the reading and delivery of such letters as I write and send unto you, dearly beloved father Traves, I am constrained to leave off such griefs and spiritual wants, as, thanks unto the Lord, I unwillingly feel: for the flesh, as you know, loveth nothing so much as security, of all enemies most perilous, and not a little familiar with me: from the which, with vain-glory, hypocrisy, etc., and worldliness, the Lord deliver me! I had not thought to have written thus much, but these I cannot keep, but commit them to your prayers. And to the intent I would you should not think any ingratitude in me; as also that I might give you occasion to write to me again, as heretofore I have done, even so do I interurb and trouble you with my babbling, but yet having this commodity, that I babble not so much as I am wont to do. The cause I have declared, which had almost been the cause I had not written at all. I did write unto you from London when I came hither: send me word what letters you have received, for from you I have received but two, and both by John Moss; and in the latter I perceived that the Lord had visited you with sickness, his fatherly rod, whereby he declareth his love upon you, and that he careth for you: "Ut in tempore supremo exultes nunc ad breve tempus afflictus, quo exploratio fidei multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen probatur, etc. Siquidem in hoc vocatus es, ut cum Christo patiaris, nam et cum illo glorificaberis. Certus enim sermo est, si sufferimus et con-regnabimus." You know that Christ, "etsi Filius Dei erat, tamen ex his quæ passus est didicit obedientiam." "Patientia opus perfectum habeat ut sitis perfecti et integri, nullaque in parte diminuti" and doth not *patientia* come of *probatio*? The one then you had, so that you were going a-school to learn the other, which learnt, what want you? The end of all God's proving, is, as Paul saith, "Ut impertiat nobis sanctimoniam: igitur gratias age Deo Patri, qui idoneum te fecit ad participationem sortis sanctorum in lumine, etc. Nam qui parumper afflixit, idem instauret te, fulciat, roboret, stabiliat." And that the Lord knoweth how "eripere pios è tribulatione," and that "in tempore opportuno," even shortly: for "haud tardat qui promisit:" "nam modicum tempus, et videbis me;" "veniens enim veniet, et non tardabit." "Itaque qui consortes estis crucis Christi, gaudete," saith Peter, "ut in revelatione quoque gloriæ ejus gaudeatis exultantes." Oh, how doth my will over-run my wit. Why, Bradford! whom writest thou unto? thou showest thyself. Thus, father Traves, you may see my rashness to rabble out the Scripture without purpose, rhyme, or reason. I will not blot it out, as I thought to have done: for that hereby you shall see my need of your prayer. Well, I look for a watch-word from you. Write, for God's sake, and pray for me that I may be in something profitable to the Lord's congregation, that I may be no stumbling-block, "ut confundantur in me qui illum expectant." Send me such counsel as the Lord's Spirit shall move you how to study. My desire is in something to be profitable, if it were the Lord's will, for to be "minister verbi." Alas! I am unmeet, and my time, my time, yea the Lord's time, I have hitherto evil, yea most wickedly mispent it, etc. Thus will I end. The Lord be with you and your bed-fellow, to whom have me heartily commended, and to all your children and family, the which I beseech the Lord to lighten his countenance over, and grant you his peace: pray for me. I long for winter to speak with you. Rescribe oro. Pray for me.

This Assumption-day in Katherine's-hall, in Cambridge.

Yours, with all I have and can,

John Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 7).

The plentiful grace of God the Father, through our only Master and Lord Jesus Christ, increase in us daily to the glory of his name. Amen.

Forasmuch as I have often written unto you, good father Traves, and yet have not once heard from you since Pentecost, I cannot now be so bold, either in writing much or often, as I would have been: howbeit this I say, that I much marvel that I hear not from you: but not so, for I am so wretched a sinner, that the Lord's Spirit, I am certain, doth not move you to write to me, yet, for God's sake, pray for me, and in the Lord's name I desire you to give thanks to God for me. And when it may please God to move you, write to me, though

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

See
Appendix.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

it be but two words, and counsel me how to study the word of life, the ministry whereof I desire, if it be the Lord's pleasure, to profess, and that I may do it both in living and learning: pray for me. "*Herus meus omnibus rebus suis me abdicavit, et quæ prius concesserat, jam solvere renuit, et mihi prorsus factus est inimicus.*" I know not when I shall see you in body, therefore let me hear from you. I write not this that you should think me "*in egestate aut angustiis esse.*" No, father, the Lord giveth me "*omnia affatim,*" and will do. I trust I shall shortly here have a fellowship: I am so promised, and therefore I have taken the degree of Master of Arts, which else I could not have attained. If I get a fellowship, I shall not need "*de crastino sollicitus esse,*" as hereafter I shall more write to you by God's grace. I pray you write again, and often pray for me. In haste, as appeareth, the 22d of October. Ne sciat mater mea quod herus meus adeo duriter mecum agit, etc.

Miserrimus peccator,

J. Bradford.

To Father Traves (No. 8).

The peace and plenteous mercy of God our heavenly Father, in his Christ our only Lord and Saviour, be ever increased in you by the Holy Spirit, "*qui efficit omnia in omnibus.*" Amen.

Father Traves, though I might think myself more happy, if you would often write unto me, yet because I ought to have respect to your pains, which now that old man cannot so well sustain as it might, I had rather lose my happiness in that behalf, than will your grief, forasmuch as it can be no happiness unto me which turneth to your pain: yet, because pain is not painful when it is joined with gain, I therefore desire you, for God's sake, to pray often for me: for if I shall not be worthy of your prayer, as the Lord, who knoweth all things, doth right well see it, and so my conscience witnesseth, your good prayer shall return into your own bosom. And know this, that whoso converteth a sinner by prayer (whether it be by prayer, preaching, or writing letters, etc.), the same hath saved a soul. Use therefore, for God's sake I ask it, that pains whereunto is joined profit, I mean prayer to God for me, a miserable and most wretched sinner: and as for the gainless pain in writing to me, use it yet as you may, and surely God, for whose sake you do it, in that he will reward a cup of cold water, will in some thing requite you. And I know certainly, that if you did see what spiritual profit I receive by your letters, I am certain you would not think all your labour lost. For Christ's sake, therefore, begin again to write unto me, and reprove me sharply for my horrible unthankfulness to God. You know how that God hath exonerated my laden conscience of the great weighty burden, for so I did write to you; yea the Lord hath in a manner unburdened me of the lesser burden also: for I have an assurance of the payment of the same by Candlemas. Lo, thus you see what a good God the Lord is unto me. O father Traves, give thanks for me, and pray God to forgive me my unthankfulness. But what should I rehearse the benefits of God towards me? Alas I cannot. I am too little for all his mercies, yea, I am not only unthankful, but I am too far contumelious against God. For whereas you know the sun, the moon, and the seven stars, did forsake me,¹ and would not shine upon me, you know what I mean "*per herum et heriles amicos,*" yet the Lord hath given me here in the university as good a living as I would have wished; for I am now a fellow of Pembroke-hall, for the which neither I, nor any other for me, did ever make any suit: yea there was a contention betwixt the master of Catherine-hall, and the bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke-hall, whether should have me: "*sit hoc tibi dictum.*" Thus you may see the Lord's carefulness for me. My fellowship here is worth seven pound a year; for I have allowed me eighteen-pence a week, and as good as thirty-three shillings four-pence a year in money, besides my chamber, launder, barber, etc., and I am bound to nothing but once or twice a year to keep a problem. Thus you see what a good Lord God is to me. But I pray you what do I now to God, for all this? I will not speak of the great mercies he sheweth unto my soul. Surely, father Traves, I have clean forgotten God; I am all secure, idle, proud, hard-hearted, utterly void of brotherly love; I am envious, and disdain others; I am a very stark hypocrite, not only in my words and works, but even in these my letters to you. I am all sensual, without the true

(1) Gen. xxxvii. 9.

fear of God, another manner of man than I have been since my calling. Alas! father Traves, I write this to put myself in remembrance; but I am without all sense, I do but only write it. For God's sake pray for me, which am only in name a Christian, in very deed a very worldling, and to say to you the very truth, the most worldling of all others. I pray you exhort my mother now and then, with my sister Margaret, to fear the Lord: and if my mother had not sold the fox-fur which was in my father's gown, I would she would send it me. She must have your counsel in a piece of cloth.

Yours for ever,

John Bradford.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

To Father Traves (No. 9).

The selfsame mercy, grace, and peace, which heretofore I have felt plentifully, though now, through mine unthankfulness and wilful obedience to the pleasure of this outward man, I neither feel, neither can be persuaded that I possess; yea, if I shall truly write, I in manner pass not upon the same, so far am I fallen, the Lord help me: the same mercy, etc., I say, I wish unto you as I can, with all increase of godliness: hypocritically with my pen and mouth, beseeching you, in your earnest prayers to God, to be an earnest suitor unto God for me, which am fallen into such a security, and even a hardness of heart, that neither I sorrow my state, neither with any grief or fear of God's abjection do write this: before the Lord, which knoweth the hearts of all men, I lie not. Consider for Christ's sake therefore, good father Traves, my necessity, though I myself do it not, and pray for me, that God cast me not off, as I deserve most justly. For whereas I ought to have well proceeded in God's school, by reason of the time, I confess it to my shame I am so far gone back, as alas! if shame were in me, I might be ashamed to write it; but much more to write it, and think it not: such is the reward of unthankfulness. For whereas God wrought the restitution of the great thing you know of (the which benefit should bind me to all obedience), alas! father Traves, I am too unthankful: I find no will in heart (though by my writing it will be hard to persuade you) either to be thankful, either to begin a new life in all things to mortify this outward man, and heartily to be well content to serve the Lord in spirit and verity, and withstand mine affections, and especially my beastly sensuality in meat and drink, wherewith I was troubled at my being with you; but now, through my licentious obeying that affect, I am fallen so, that a whole legion spirituum malorum, possesseth me. The Lord, whom I only with mouth (my heart still abiding both in hardness and wilfulness) call upon, deliver me and help me; and for God's sake give you hearty thanks for the great benefit of restitution. Pray to the Lord, that at the length I may once return to the obedience of his good will. Amen.—I thank you for your cheese, and so doth father Latimer as unknown: for I did give it him, and he saith he did never eat better cheese; and so I dare say he did not. I thank him I am as familiar with him, as with you; yea God so moveth him towards me, that his desire is to have me come and dwell with him whensoever I will, and welcome. This do I write yet once more to occasion you to be thankful for me to the Lord, which by all means sheweth nothing but most high love to me: and I again a very obstinate rebellion. Pray therefore for me in haste.

The sinful John Bradford.¹

*In ² the month of May before, mention was made of certain letters directed from the king and the queen to Bonner, then being bishop of London. Besides which letters, certain others had been directed a little before from the council to the said bishop; by occasion of which letters, Bonner, not long after, caused a certain declaration to be made at Paul's-cross, by Chedsey, unto the people, to purge and wash himself from the common and general suspicion of cruelty, which was spread abroad of him among the common people: the copy of which his declaration I thought here not to suppress, but in this place to set it forth.

(1) In the Tract Society's Works of the British Reformers another letter is here added on Romans viii.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, page 1217. The reference in the Text is to p. 86 of this volume.—Ed.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

A Declaration made at Paul's Cross by Doctor Chedsey, at the commandment of Bonner, then Bishop of London.

My lord mayor, master aldermen, master sheriffs, and all you here now assembled: my lord bishop of London, your ordinary, hath desired me to declare unto you all, that upon Friday last he did receive two letters from the court; the one came from the king's and queen's majesties, the other from their majesties' privy council. The effect of that letter which came from the privy council, was concerning procession and prayer to be made for the obtaining and concluding of peace between the emperor's majesty and the French king; the effect of that letter which came from the king's and queen's majesties was for the charitable instruction and reformation of heretics, if they would amend, and for their punishment if they would be wilful and obstinate; and you shall hear the tenor and words of both. The superscription of the letter coming from the privy council was this: "To our very good lord the bishop of London, with diligence." The subscription was: "Your lordship's loving friends, Francis Shrewsbury; Pembroke; Thomas Cheney; William Peter; Thomas Wharton; Richard Southwell." The words of the body of the letter were these: "After our right hearty," etc.

The superscription of the letter coming from the king's and queen's majesties was this: "To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well beloved the bishop of London." The sign manual was "Philip and Mary:" the tenor was "Right reverend," etc.; and lo, here is the signet put to the said letters.

And whereas by these letters, coming from the king's and queen's majesties, it appeareth that their majesties do charge my lord bishop of London and the rest of the bishops with remissness and negligence in instructing the people infected with heresy, if they will be taught, and in punishing them if they will be obstinate and wilful, ye shall understand that my lord bishop of London, for his part, offereth himself ready to do therein his duty to the uttermost; giving you knowledge that he hath sent to all the prisons of the city to know what persons are there for heresy, and by whose commandment: and that he will travail and take pain with all that be of his jurisdiction for their amendment; and sorry he is that any is in prison for any such matter. And he willed me to tell you, that he is not so cruel or hasty to send men to prison, as some be slanderous and wilful to do naught, and lay their faults on other men's shoulders.

Moreover my said lord bishop willed me to declare unto you, that upon Wednesday next at eight of the clock in the morning, there shall be here at Paul's a sermon before the general procession; and, that sermon being done, there shall be a general procession through this city, according to the tenor of the council's letters; and I do warn here this assembly, and, by them, all others of this city, to be present at the same.*

WILLIAM MINGE.

The next day after master Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, William Minge, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds for religion, and like to have suffered also, if he had continued, the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel: which William Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison, as if it had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake; and as he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

JAMES TREVISAM BURIED IN THE FIELDS, AND SUMMONED AFTER HIS DEATH.

On the 3d of July, 1555, died one James Trevisam in the parish of St. Margaret in Lothbury, upon a Sunday, who, being impotent

and lame, kept his bed: for he could not rise out of it a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Smal, which read on the Bible; and, as he was in reading, Berd the promoter came to the house, and would needs go up the stairs, where he found four persons besides him and his wife—to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman; all which folks, the said Berd the promoter, there being, apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover the said Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart (and brought the cart to the door), but for neighbours. Nevertheless, the poor man was fain to put in two sureties for his forthcoming; for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days, the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church, named master Farthing, came to him, and had communion with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller, a founder. “Yea,” saith he, “be ye agreed? I will accuse you, for he denieth the sacrament of the altar.” Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead, he should be buried in a ditch. And so, when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have the coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moor-field, and there was he buried. The same night the body was cast up above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this the owner of the field, seeing him, buried him again, and a fortnight after the sumner came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul’s before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him! But what more befel upon him, I have not certainly to say.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.

Farthing,
parson of
St. Mar-
garet’s in
Lothbury
accuseth
Trevi-
sam.

The History of Master John Bland, Preacher and Martyr, constantly suffering for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The 12th day of July, John Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humfrey Middleton, were all four burned at Canterbury together, for one cause; of the which number, Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adisham, the other the vicar of Rolvenden. This master Bland was a man so little born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men; for his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue: under whom were trained divers towardly young men, which even at this present do handsomely flourish; in the number of whom is Dr. Sands,¹ a man of singular learning and worthiness, as may well beseeem a scholar meet for such a school-master, whom I gladly here name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

(1) Some time bishop of Worcester, now archbishop of York.

Mary.

A. D.

1553

to

1555.

Bland offered by his friends to be delivered, refused.

After this he, coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury prison for the preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his friends, yet would he needs preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he, being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle Paul: "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword," etc. But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.

A Discourse of the whole Process and Doings of Master Bland, written and reported by himself to his Father in his own Letter, as followeth.

Dearly beloved Father in Christ Jesus, I thank you for your gentle letters; and, to satisfy your mind, as concerning the troubles whereof you have heard, these shall both declare unto you all my vexations that have chanced me since ye were with me, and also since I received your last letters. God keep you ever.

Your son,

John Bland.

Declaration of the Troubles of John Bland, how and by whom he was apprehended, and brought to his Condemnation.

First, the 3d of September,¹ being Sunday, after service ended, and or I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table (commonly called the Lord's table), and laid both his hands upon it, saying, "Who set this here again?" (Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again.) The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, "He is a knave that set it here." I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, "Goodman Austen, the queen's highness hath set forth a proclamation, that ye may move no sedition." And or I could speak any more, he said, "Thou art a knave:" and I said, "Well, goodman Austen, that I have said, I have said." "By God's soul," quoth he, "thou art a very knave."

Then my clerk spake to him, but what I am not sure: but he said, "Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long; and if he say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face." And in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the trestles by it.² Wherefore I rode by and by to master Isaac, and showed him the cause, both how seditiously he had spoken, and performed it with a like deed. Master Isaac directed a warrant to the constable or borsholder, which was incontinently served, so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear, if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for; the table was brought down, and was permitted, as before.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the foresaid table after the communion was done; and as I

Isaac a good justice. The communion table set up again.

(1) A. D. 1553.—En.

(2) Note the uncharitable spirit of this papist, and so commonly of them all.

was going by them, Richard said unto me, "Master parson, we have to speak to you." And I said, "What is your will?" And he said, "You know that you took down the tabernacle or ceiling wherein the rood did hang, and such other things: we would know what recompense you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must up again." Quoth I, "I know no such proceedings as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment." "No," said Thomas Austen, "ye will not know the queen's proceedings." "Yes," said I, "I refuse not to know them."

Then said Richard, "Ye are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass." "Goodman Austen," said I, "if I so said, I will say it again; and, God willing, stand to the proof of it." "Masters all," quoth Richard Austen, "bear record of these words;" and went his way.

Quoth Thomas Austen, "Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them." "No," quoth I, "not so soon." "Tell us," quoth he, "what that devilishness is, that is in the mass." "I have often preached it unto you," said I, "and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now either, though I should tell you."

"Thou," quoth he, "hast told us always, like a heretic as thou art." "Now ye lie, goodman Austen," quoth I, "by your leave." "Marry," quoth he, "thou liest." And I said, "And you lie; for I have taught you Christ and his truth."

Quoth he, "Thou art a heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy; for thou canst say nothing that is true." "Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven; and ye will say (I trow) that it is true, and so have I taught you truly."

Quoth he, "Thou hast taught us like a heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell." "Well," said I, "lie on; me thinketh you can say little truth."

Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, "Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?" "No," quoth I, "except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did."

"Well, if you will not," said he, "then will I: for I am churchwarden." "I charge you," said I, "that you do not, except you have authority."

"I will," said he, "not let for your charge. For we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher, that shall prove thee a heretic, if thou dare abide his coming." "Yes," quoth I, "God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am, that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached."

"Yes," quoth he, "and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then."

"No, goodman Austen, I will not run away."

"Marry," quoth he, "I cannot tell; thou art as like yea, as nay." With many other words we came out of the church door, and so departed.

When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning-prayer I said to the clerk, "Why do ye not ring? ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day." "No," quoth he, "master Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said, his master hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come." That day I did preach to them a sermon in his stead.

Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie; for some said, I had them at Adisham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the king's constable to see the peace kept, which is found a lie. Other said, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adisham. Other said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed, the other should not. God forgive them all! Now upon these two matters they crack that they sent two bills of complaint to the council: wherefore by the counsel of friends, I made this testimony, and sent it up by master Wiseman.

The behaviour of John Bland, Parson of Adisham, in the County of Kent, the Sunday, the 3d Day of December last past [1553], containing the Words which he there spake unto the People.

Whereas upon certain communication had between the said parson and Richard Austen and Thomas Austen, in the presence of all the parish of Adisham, the Sunday before St. Andrew's day last, the said Austen then

Mary.

A.D.
1553
to
1555.

Thomas Austen and Richard Austen pick matter against Bland charged for speaking against the mass

False accusation.

Austen threateneth to bring in a popish priest against Bland.

False slander against Bland.

Mary. declared, that the said parson had taught there in times past great heresies, which to confound, they would prepare a preacher against the next Sunday following, if so be the said parson would abide, and not run away: upon which rumour, divers and sundry persons resorted out of the country, unto the said parish church, at the said same day appointed, there to hear the preacher; and at the time in which the sermon ought to be made, no man appeared there to preach. But it was reported unto the parson, that the preacher appointed had urgent business, and could not come: so that the multitude being now come together, the same parson, perceiving that the people's expectation was defrauded, said, "Forasmuch as you are come willingly to hear some good advertisement of the preacher, who now cannot be present, I think it not convenient to permit you to depart without some exhortation for your edifying." And so further declaring that he had no license to preach, said that he would not meddle with any matter in controversy. And then he began the epistle of the day, desiring the audience to mark three or four places in the same epistle, which touched quietness and love one to another. And there briefly reading the epistle, he noted the same places; and so, making an end thereof, desired all men to depart quietly and in peace, as they did, without any manner of disturbance, or token of evil.

Bland, parson of Adisham, clearerth himself of false slander.

Bland exhorting the people to love and quietness.

Witnesses the undernamed, with divers others:

Edmund Mores.	William Forstall.
Richard Randall.	Thomas Gooding.
John Hills.	

Another Matter of Trouble wrought against John Bland, as appeareth by his own Narration.

Upon the Innocents' day, being the 28th day of December,¹ they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass. He had nigh made an end of matins ere I came; and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, "Master parson, your neighbours have desired me to say matins and mass: I trust ye will not be against the queen's preceedings." "No," quoth I, "I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing." "What say ye?" quoth he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with a higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time (that all in the church heard), that I would not offend the queen's laws. And then he went to mass; and when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk unto me with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, "I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little; I have something to say to the people." And the clerk did so.

A popish mass-priest brought to say mass at Adisham.

And the priest came down to the stall, where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel-door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always showed unto his people, unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors, have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood. And after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass-book doth, saying, "Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation:"² so that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood."

Bland again exhorteth the people in his parish church. The right institution of the sacrament.

And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament: and showed

He speaketh of the abuse of the sacrament in the mass.

(1) A.D. 1553. Bland states, in his own report of an examination which he underwent on the 2d of March [1555], that he had been in prison "a whole year." On the 9th of March he states, that he had been in prison ever since certain words were uttered by him; and he then names one year and ten weeks as the interval which had elapsed. He therefore evidently refers back to this occasion (28th Dec. 1553.) There is however some error here, which it is difficult to set right. By Bland's own narrative it appears that he was *arrested* on this 28th of Dec. [1553], and taken to Canterbury, but bailed the next day: that he remained out upon bail, until the 23d or 24th of Feb. [1554], and then lay in Canterbury Castle ten weeks (namely, to about the 5th of May); that he again continued out upon bail until the 3d of July [1554]: after which time he was in close confinement until his martyrdom. Taking these data, furnished by himself, the periods during which Bland had been confined previously to the 9th of March, 1555, do not exceed ten months and a half.—Ed.

(2) "Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ, et calicem salutis perpetuæ," etc.

how Christ bade us all eat and drink; and one only in the mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship.

And after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare what men made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the mass.

And ere I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden and the borsholder, his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, "Thou heretic;" some, "Thou traitor;" some, "Thou rebel;" and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was something past, "Be quiet, good neighbours," said I, "and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me." But they would not hear me, and pulled, one on this side, and another on that, and began again. Then Richard Austen said, "Peace, masters; no more till mass be done:" and they ceased.

Then said I to the churchwarden and the borsholder (either holding me by the arm), "Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done." "No," quoth the churchwarden, "thou shalt tarry here till mass be done." "I will not," quoth I, "but against my will." And they said, "Thou shalt tarry: for if thou go out, thou wilt run away." Then said I to the borsholder, "Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me:" and turned my back to the altar.

By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the borsholder and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door to me; and there they made me tarry till mass was ended.

When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me; and found a dagger, and took it from me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden (after many brablings that they made with me), "Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's." "Ye lie, Goodman Austen," said I, "it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's."

Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy: but anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, "Sir, where dwell you?" And therewith Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, "Come on, sirra, you are of his opinion:" and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him. "I am content," said he, and a little mocked them in their envious talk.

By this time there came in at the church-style, one John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, "How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen's laws?" "No," quoth he. "Then there is no transgression." Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, "Ye are one of their opinion; ye shall go with them for company:" and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? but after, I think, for very shame they let him go again; but they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, with eighteen persons weaponed. A sheet of paper will not hold the talk that we had that night with master Harges, justice, master Oxenden, master Spilman, and master Tutsam.

The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes, were bound in twenty pounds either of them, for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for before the queen's majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions. His sureties were Thomas Hogeeking and Simon Barrat.

Now the 23d or 24th of February [1554], sir Thomas Finch, knight, and master Harges, sent for me and my sureties to master Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by sir Thomas Moyle's commandment (they said), where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury; but after they changed it to be at Ashford on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the 19th of May: but in the meantime the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court.

Mary.

A. D.

1554

to

1555.

He declareth how the mass was patched and pieced together, and by what popes.

Bland violently plucked down in his sermon, by the churchwarden.

Bland thrust into a side chapel till the mass was done; his dagger taken from him.

Ramsey apprehended by T. Austen.

John Gray of Wingham troubled.

Bland and Ramsey carried to Canterbury.

Bland taken from his sureties. Sir T. Moyles.

Mary.

A.D.

1554

to

1555.

The first Examination of Master John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Dr. Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, and Master Collins, Commissary, May 18, 1554.

Bland
master of
arts of
Cam-
bridge.

The 18th day of May, master Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor's serjeant to bring me before him and master Collins, commissary, into Christ's church; and they went with me into a chamber, in the suffragan of Dover's house. Then the archdeacon said, "Art thou a priest?" And I said, "I was one." And he said, "Art thou a graduate of any university?" And I said, "Yea." "What degree," said he, "hast thou taken?" "The degree," quoth I, "of a master of arts." "The more pity," quoth he, "that thou shouldst behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common preacher licensed, hast thou not?" And I said, "I have been so." "Marry," quoth he, "so I understand."

"What hast thou preached?"

And I said, "God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people."

"No, no," quoth he; "to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me."

"I told you," quoth I, "what I have preached."

"Nay, but tell me," quoth he, "what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest? I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me."

"No, by my faith," quoth he, "but only that I would win thee from heresies that thou art bewrapt in, and hast infected others withal: for thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ after the consecration.¹ Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?"

"Sir," quoth I, "I perceive (as I said) that ye seek matter against me. But, seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken with words, and well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach, and my living are taken from me, I think thus I am not bound to make you an answer."

Collins:—"Master Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?"

Bland:—"I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth; but I know that master archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble."

Then they said, "No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here."

Bland:—"I am content for knowledge' sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise."

And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last master Collins said, "Master Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next, as shall be laid to you?"

Bland:—"Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake."

And they said, ye shall not, but it is for other matters.

Bland:—"Sir, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford: I am in doubt whether I can or no; yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to master Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my debts withal."

Then said master archdeacon, "I will write to master Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss."

Bland:—"That shall not need; for I can sustain no great loss, if I go not. But I pray you to let me have a longer day." "No," quoth he.

Bland:—"Sir, I cannot well come on Monday."

Harpsfield:—"Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?"

Bland:—"I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day."

(1) Note how these papists seek for matter, to suck the blood of poor men.

A man
not bound
to answer
such as
ask of
purpose to
bring him
into trou-
ble.

Master
Bland
upon prom-
ise talk-
eth of the
sacra-
ment.

Mark
what fi-
delity is
in the
promise
of these
men.

Bland
warned
to appear
again be-
fore them.

Harpfield :—"Thou shalt have no other day ; I charge thee to come on Monday" M^{ary}.

Bland :—"Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or master Collins, for God's sake, to confer scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?" A. D.
1555.

Harpfield :—"With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt:" and thus they departed. Now the 17th of May at Ashford I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the sessions holden at Cranbrook, the 3d of July.

Another Appearance of Master Bland before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.

The 21st day of May I appeared in the Chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and master archdeacon said thus to me, "Ye are come here according as ye were appointed: and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching, which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the catholic church, both I and many others more would be very glad; and I, for my part, shall be right glad to show you the favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfy again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day; although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought to hell-ward by thee. What sayest thou?" False sur-
mises pre-
tended
against
Bland.

Bland :—"I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And whereas your mastership saith, that I have feigned an open disputation with you, it is not true, as I can thus approve: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there master Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation, as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me: whereat I much marvelled, and said to him that before that present I never heard any such word; neither would I answer nor dispute. And to this can master Vaughan, master Oxenden, master Seth of Overland, and master Ugden witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it." The an-
swer of
Bland
to Harps-
field.

Cleareth
himself of
the false
report of
Harps-
field.

Harpfield :—"Hear ye what he saith? His conscience is clear. I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? Let me hear what thy faith is."

Bland :—"I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience."

Harpfield :—"Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a christian belief, thou needest not to be ashamed of it."

Bland :—"I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, etc., with all the other Articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the holy Scriptures of God to be most certain and true."²

Harpfield :—"Wilt thou declare no more than this?"

Bland :—"No."

Harpfield :—"Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were, since the apostles' time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith;" with many words more which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, Popish
faith of
Harps-
field.

(1) Note here the extreme dealing of the pretended Catholics.

(2) To believe the articles of our christian faith never so well, will not suffice the papists.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Bland
requireth
to have
his coun-
sellor.

he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, "By what law and authority will ye proceed against me?" Master Collins said, "By the canon law."

Bland:—"I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law."

Harpsfield:—"Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?"

Bland:—"Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, when I was with you and master Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would. And now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me."

The
papists
ever false
of pro-
mise.

Harpsfield:—"I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will desire these two worshipful men, my lord of Dover, and master Collins, to hear us."

Bland:—"No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness, but, when we agree, set to our hands." Hereat made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, "Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question?" And he said, "Yea, with all my heart; for in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won."

Bland's
question
to Harps-
field.

Bland:—"Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, 'Hail, full of grace,' etc., came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin's womb to become man?" Whereat as well master archdeacon, as my lord of Dover, and master Collins staid. But my lord spake the first, and said, "The Holy Ghost came to her;" and ere he had brought out his sentence, master Syriac Peters said, "Virtus altissimi obumbravit." "Truth," said master archdeacon, "it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost."—"They had forgotten, that 'genitus fuit ex substantia patris;" or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I said, "Sir, shall I ask one other?" And he said, "Yea." "Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?"

Another
question
of Bland
to Harps-
field.

The an-
swer of
Harps-
field.

Harpsfield:—"Hark," said master archdeacon; "hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament: but it is no absurdity; for even that natural body that was born of the Virgin Mary is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me? He thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question."

Bland:—"Sir, if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament, after the consecration."

Harpsfield:—"I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born of the Virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?" And while he spake many other words, I said to master Petit, that the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his Apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying master Petit partly recited to master archdeacon.

Harpsfield:—"Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his

(1) How can the glorified body be in the sacrament, when the sacrament was given before the body was crucified, and it was crucified before it was glorified? "The body unglorified was given in the sacrament, in a glorified act," quoth Harpsfield.

natural body was not crucified: for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? and when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house to his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?" Marg.
A. D.
1555.

Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, "When Christ was in mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles' sight."

Harpsfield:—"Ye say truth, my lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles."

Bland:—"This methinks is new doctrine."

Harpsfield:—"Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in, and prove these matters against him." And therewith the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put against me at Christmas, and about that we talked a little. And then master archdeacon rose up and said, "See ye, good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him." Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, "I pray you," said he, "let us be no more troubled with him." Harpsfield re-
viveth
the bill of
complaint
against
Bland.

And then spake John Austen, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but "Do to me what ye can by law, and I will answer it." Then said Thomas Austen, "Bland, ye were once abjured." Thomas
Austen
chargeth
him with
another
untruth.

Bland:—"Ye say not truly, goodman Austen, I was never abjured." "Either," said he, "ye were abjured, or else ye had the king's pardon." "Neither of both; ye speak this of malice:" with many other brabbling words more.

Then master archdeacon departed, and left master Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to master commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June I came to master commissary to show him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before master Cox of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor: but master commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me; and so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after.

Now in the meantime the sessions holden at Cranbrook, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, for I looked for none other, did appear the 3d of July. And sir John Baker said, "Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot: where were ye born and brought up?" And I said, I was born in England. And he said, "where?" And I said, "In Sedberg, and brought up by one doctor Lupton, provost of Eton college." "Well," said he, "I know him well. Remain to your bond till afternoon." Bland
appearing
at ses-
sions in
Cran-
brook.
Dr. Lupton,
provost of
Eton
college.

Then said sir Thomas Moyle, "Ah! Bland, thou art a stiff-hearted fellow. Thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called." "No will?" quoth sir John Baker. "Master sheriff, take him to your ward:" and the bailiff set me in the stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word. And so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone, till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabouts; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we were among the prisoners two days. And when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, master Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person. Bland
laid in
Maid-
stone
gaol, and
carried to
Roches-
ter.

Then master Roper of Linsted talked with the judges, but what, I am not able to say: but the judges of assize said, "Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden." Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us, so that we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich the 18th and 19th of February [1555]. I and others, being within the bar amongst the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the jailer and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to sir John Baker, master Petit, master Web, and two others whom I know not. Bland
carried
again to
Maid-
stone.
Bland
appeareth
at Green-
wich.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

Another Examination of Master Bland before Sir John Baker. Feb. 19, 1555.

Baker :—"Bland, wherefore were ye cast into prison?"*Bland* :—"I cannot well tell. Your mastership cast me in."*Baker* :—"Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?"*Bland* :—"For an unjust complaint put upon me."*Baker* :—"What was the complaint?"

(I told him as truly and briefly as I could.)

Baker :—"Let me see thy book;" (and I took him a Latin Testament.)*Baker* :—"Will ye go to the church, and obey and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?"*Bland* :—"I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do."*Baker* :—"Will ye do as I said?"*Bland* :—"Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?"*Baker* :—"Yea."*Bland* :—"Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied in to be good?"*Baker* :—"Away, away:" and threw down the book, and said, "It is no Testament." And I said, "Yes." And master Web took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, "Master Bland, I knew you when ye were not of this opinion. I would to God ye would reform yourself;" with better words than I will write. And I said, "If ye have known me of another opinion than I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge."*Baker* :—"Yea, sayest thou so? By St. Mary, and thou hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee withal, or thou shouldest be unburned: hence, knave, hence!" And so were we reprieved into our place again within the bar. And at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the jailer, "Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution." And one of our company said, "My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever."

Another Appearance of Master Bland in the Spiritual Court. March 2, 1555.

Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the 2d of March, at which day we were brought into the chapter-house of Creechurch, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, master Collins, master Mills, with others; and then went to them master Oxenden, master Petit, master Web, and master Hardes, justices. And when I was called, master Web said, "Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy."

And I said, "Master Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?"

Web :—"Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge."*Bland* :—"I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy."*Web* :—"Yes; ye denied to sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings."*Bland* :—"Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy for asking a question with leave?" So we had more words there than I well remember.

Then stood up master Petit, and said, "Ye were cast into prison, because ye fled away from your ordinary."

Bland :—"Then have I had wrong; for I never fled, nor disobeyed mine ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law. Let them now say if I did:" but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, "Master commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?" "No," quoth he; "ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear

A question
pounded
to sir John
Baker.

Hasty
judgment
of a jus-
tice.
Bland
and his
fellows
sent to
the ordi-
nary.

The an-
swers of
master
Bland
first to the
justices.

the Friday after the sessions." Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented: and then we were sent to Westgate, into prison, and were put in several close holds, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they dispatched (by what means I cannot tell), whose name was Cornwall a tanner.¹

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the justices, and certain gentlemen of the shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the clergymen before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest doer and judge against him was the bishop of Dover,² or suffragan of Canterbury, called Dr. Richard Thornton, to the intent it may appear what little truth or constancy is in these catholic persecutors, I thought here to exhibit by the way a certain popish letter, written of a papist unto him; wherein is declared what a gospeller the said Richard Thornton was in king Edward's time, who now, turning with the world, sheweth himself such a bitter persecutor against God's servants in queen Mary's time. The copy of this letter here followeth.

A Copy of a Popish Letter written to the Bishop of Dover, by one Thomas Goldwell a Priest, declaring what a Professor the Bishop was in King Edward's time.

Right reverend, and my good lord,—after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your lordship, this shall be to certify you, that as soon as I arrived with my lord's grace,³ I gave him your letters: but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there have been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that you have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in England, as well against the holy sacrament of the altar, and against the supreme authority of Christ's vicar in earth, as with the use of the abominable late communion, and with the marriage of priests, as well religious as secular; and that you have given orders to (I cannot tell how many) base, unlearned, and evil disposed people, by reason of the which they have taken upon them to preach, and to do much hurt in Kent. So that men think that yet, if any new mutation (the which God forbid) should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the same, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide that your absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of matters past, yet your lordship (more regarding the vanity of the world, than the offence of God, the which he only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to sing mass in pontificalibus, the holy-days immediately following; and also to ministrare to children the sacrament of confirmation, because that one (being a member of the devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

Thornton, bishop of Dover, a great doer against the pope and sacrament of the altar, in king Edward's time.

O my Lord, what honour should it have been both to God and yourself, and also edification to all good people (though all worldly men and heretics would therefore have laughed you to scorn), if you, considering your great offences toward God, and his goodness again toward you, would, like as you have offended in the face of the world to the damnation of many, likewise have showed yourself penitent in the face of the world to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrated for vanity pontificaliter; but also for a time to have abstained for reverence totaliter from the altar, according to the old custom of the church; the which I have also seen observed of some honest men, not being thereto enjoined of any man: but that which is past cannot be called

(1) Cornwall, a tanner, dispatched in secret prison.

(2) See an act passed in the 26th year of the reign of Henry VIII. c. 14, naming certain towns from which suffragan bishops were to take their titles. This act was repealed in the reign of Elizabeth.—En.

(3) He meaneth of the arrival of Cardinal Pole.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.
Power to
give ab-
solution
granted
to the
bishop of
Dover
from the
Cardinal.

again. And I thought it not my part to leave your lordship, mine old friend and master, in the mire. Wherefore I ceased not to solicit your cause with my lord's grace, till at the last I obtained of his grace, for your lordship, all the faculties of the which I send you a copy here enclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for others, desiring your lordship so to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke; not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them: for hitherto there is never a bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his cure. Only master archdeacon hath the like, and in one thing more great than be these your lordships. Wherefore your lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such priests as have cure of soul, whether they be beneficed men, or parish priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as be underneath their cures. And thus I commit your lordship to the protection of Almighty God.—Written at Brussels, the 16th of June, 1554.

Your lordship's head-man,
Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the bishop of Dover, by way of digression. Now to return again to the examinations of Master Bland, let us hear his own report of his answers, as followeth :

Bland :—" Here followeth mine answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But yet this dare I say, that there is never one sentence, but it was openly spoken the 9th of March, in the chapter-house of Cree-church, in the presence of as many as they had chosen; the mayor of the city being called to be assistant, and all others shut out."

The Answer of Master Bland in his Appearance before the Commissioners and others in the Spiritual Court. [March 9, 1555.]

Master Collins said, " Master Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy. How say ye, be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?"

Bland :—" I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy, and this ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it."

Collins :—" Ye were convented before master archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge."

Bland :—" That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law."

Then said my lord Suffragan, " But that I am one of the judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol."

Bland :—" You, my lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, that in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years." "Thou liest," quoth he, "I never said so."

Bland :—" My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to approve it, with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear master Collins, at a visitation in Wingham say, that Christ was a full satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come; contrary to that he saith now."

And here we had more words of this matter, which I do let pass for lack of good remembrance.

Master Collins said, " This is but a drift. You were better answer now; for

The
bishop of
Dover
once ab-
horred the
mass.
Collins
the com-
missary
professed
before,
the true
doctrine
of free
justifica-
tion by
Christ.

else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you, and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you." Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Bland :—"Sir, I do not now, nor will then deny to answer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law: wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law."

Collins :—"This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, *reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now."

Bland :—"To that then will I answer: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the same creed; and I believe all the articles contained both in the creed called the mass creed; and in the creed of Athanasius; and I do believe, that all the holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true."¹ Bland
confesseth
all the
articles of
his creed.

Collins :—"This will not serve you: ye must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you."

Bland :—"Let me know the law, that it is in that force (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me), and I will answer."

Collins :—"How say ye, will ye answer?"

Bland :—"Sir, I have answered you." "Have him away," said my lord of Dover; "he had better have answered."

Bland :—"My lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the law."

Bishop of Dover :—"Ye have preached many heresies in Adisham, where I am parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them."

Bland :—"Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year and more ago: for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to, all things done in all my life, I trow."

Collins :—"It is not a year ago since you were before master archdeacon and me."

Bland :—"It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken; and I have been a prisoner ever since, and have been at five sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Methinketh your charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty."

Collins :—"All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will ye reform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar; and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?"

Bland :—"I pray you, wherefore am I brought hither?"

Collins :—"To answer to such things as are demanded of you."

Bland :—"Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the law."

Collins :—"Well, on Monday, at nine of the clock ye shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you."

Then they had spied master Cox the lawyer, and called him in, and said, "Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to answer:" and he said, as they had said.

Collins :—"Do ye not believe, that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remaineth no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and Man?"

Bland :—"Master commissary, I know not by any law why ye should ask me that question more than any other man here." And after a little talk, my lord of Dover asked me this question: "Dost not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ?" And I said, "No, I do not so believe: for the Scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh." Bland de-
nied the
reality of
Christ's
presence
in the sa-
crament.

Then master Glasier said, "That was the opinion of the Capernaïtes; there is no man here of that opinion:" and spake long of cutting Christ's body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.²

(1) If the faith of the sacrament be in the Scripture, and so necessary a thing, why did not the apostles then put it in the creed, and make thirteen articles? If it be not in the Scripture nor yet put in the creed, why then doth the pope so extremely bind us unto it?

(2) The Capernaïtes took Christ to speak literally of his body, and so do the Papists, and not the Protestants.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Then master doctor Faucet said, "Master Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good : but ye may not thus stand against the church, for Christ saith, 'Ye must humble yourself, and take up his cross, and follow him.' And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ."

Deter-
mination
of the
church is
to be fol-
lowed so
far as the
church
deter-
mineth
by the
Scrip-
tures.

Bland :—"Master doctor, if ye take humbling of ourselves in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the same church determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not : and therefore I do not believe any such transubstantiation ; nor ever will, God willing." "Then," quoth he "I have done with you : I will no more pray for you than for a dog."

Then said master Glasier,—“How think ye? Did Paul, when he said, ‘Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Christ?’ did he mean baker’s bread?”

Bland :—"Though he did not mean baker’s bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real flesh."

Glasier :—"No, by St. Mary, we say not so ; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine."¹

Bland :—"Then the apostles had it not as we have : or else his glorified body was crucified for us."

Glasier :—"Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures ; for Christ’s body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the godhead : yea, and he showed his body divers times glorified, as in the Mount Tabor ; and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?"

Bland :—"Then belike Peter’s body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body : and the iron that Elizeus made to swim upon the water."

"Tush," quoth my lord of Dover, "that was done by prayer." But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my lord said.

It avail-
eth not
to reason
with the
papists in
time of
their
kingdom.

Bland :—"Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more than it booted you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the reason of Eckius,² Cochläus, nor yet of the detection of the devil’s sophistry of my lord chancellor’s doing, could take any place. And it is known to some that be here, that something I can say in them."

Dover :—"No, you know Æcolampadius, Zuinglius, and such others."

Bland :—"Indeed, my lord, I have seen part of their doings."

Dover :—"That is seen by thee to-day."

Glasier :—"I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the catholic church ; and now go you from it?"

Bland :—"No, that I do not."

The
church
visible.

Glasier :—"Ye know that Christ saith, ‘If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, tell it to the church, dic ecclesiæ ; if he hear not the church, take him as a heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this church of yours fifty years ago?’

Bland :—"Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted."

Then my lord of Dover cried, "No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another."

Bland
com-
manded
away.

Collins :—"Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the clock, and in the meantime ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal : your friend Dr. Faucet, or Master Glasier, if ye desire them."

Bland :—"I will refuse to talk with no man. As for any conference of

(1) Argument :—*Fes-* The glorified body of Christ was not crucified.

ti- The apostles did eat the body crucified :

no. Ergo, the apostles did not eat the glorified body of Christ.

(2) A well known opponent of Luther (vide supra). His "Enchiridion loc. communium adv. Lutheranos," was very popular, he himself having published a seventh edition at Ingoldstadt in 1535. Possevin. Apparatus sacer ; tom. i. p. 871.—Ed.

your part, it is but weak laws, established as they are : but when there was no law, I did desire conference." And so for that time I departed.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again ; and then master Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind : but the end was, that I would reform myself. But, as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which, they said before, I should see.

Dover :—" What needs that ? we have enough against you : for ye denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament."¹

Bland :—" I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the law, whereby ye may compel me to answer."

My lord of Dover took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland :—" My lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me : I take master Collins and master Glasier to witness."

The pope's key.

Then they brought forth a Decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that they, so examined, must needs answer. But I said, that it meant of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication ; for I charged them with unjust imprisonment, which they could not avoid. But master Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for a sermon seditiously spoken, and for troubling a priest at mass.

Oxenden helpeth the catholics.

Bland :—" That is not true ; for, after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bailed, till I was cast in again, and (as the justice said) for the disobeying mine ordinary, which I never did."

Collins :—" Will ye be content to confer with some ? It will be better for you. Now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it."

Bland :—" As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the Scriptures : and therefore I looked that Dr. Faucet, would have come to me without desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference : for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor."

Collins :—" Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon ?"

Bland :—" Sir, I am a prisoner ; and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will," and so departed.

At this time we were three ;³ but they took another to appear before them the Tuesday seven-night after. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was Miller, a clothier.

Here followeth a certain Confutation of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Master Mills, Priest of Christ's Church in Canterbury.

Mills :—" We say, that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly ; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure."

The popish faith of the sacrament.

Bland :—" This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say,⁴ 'Materia sacramenti est panis et vinum.' And God by his power worketh no miracles with 'Hoc est corpus meum,' so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed

(1) Yea, but why then did you prison him a whole before before ?

(2) Bland was tutor to Dr. Faucet.

(3) These three, belike, were Bland, Sheterden, and Middleton.

(4) The matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. If Christ be able to be where he list, and occupy no place : why then is not he able to be as well under the substance of bread, as under the accidents of bread, seeing he is omnipotent ? Christ may be where he list : Ergo, Christ is really in the sacrament, without occupying of place. The antecedent is true, and the consequence false.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle so with God's work."

Mills :—"To Christ is given all power in heaven and in earth; so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be and is where he listeth; and is in the sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified body occupieth no place."

Bland :—"Mark your own reason: all power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth. By the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: Ergo, he is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your major nor minor. And, first, I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every priest's list. For if the priest list not to say your mass, then Christ listeth not to be there. Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in heaven and in earth, so that that is the cause, by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his human body; and then he was not equal with the Father in divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *filius*. Here is more danger than ye are aware of; if ye would stand to it with just judges."

Mills :—"We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity; and we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament. And the body that we so receive hath life; for the Godhead is annexed thereto: which, although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not invisible after a gross sort. And the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ; for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood."¹

Fantastical absurdities in the pope's doctrine.

Bland :—"I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament: it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methinketh it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken,² for it is the nature of wine that doth that; which ye deny not. And a more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, 'If a man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood;' for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it: by which it is evident that there is no natural blood. If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operations of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body, as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities."

Mills :—"If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the consecration thereof, there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance but accidents without substance, to a true believer."

Bland :—"Ye grant three absurdities,³ that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents: and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two

(1) Case being put that the priest, taking a great quantity in the chalice, be made drunk: which of these three is it that maketh him drunk? the nature of the blood; the accidents only of wine; or else the true substance of wine; let any reasonable man judge.

(2) Argument :—Christ's blood hath not quality to make a man drunk: receiving of that in the chalice can make a man drunk: ergo, that in the chalice cannot be the blood of Christ.

(3) Three inconveniences granted by the papists :—1. That a tun of wine being consecrated, nothing remaineth but accidents: which is false by the operation thereof. 2. Where he saith, that the word of God doth not consecrate without the intent of the priest: which is against their own doctrine, saying, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. 3. Where he saith, that to the unbeliever it is not the sacrament: as the papists say, that the wicked receive the body.

inconveniences ; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it. And if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word ; and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament. And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer ; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. ‘ Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charibdim.’”

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Mills :—“ The substance of Christ’s body doth not fill the mouse’s belly ; for although he doth receive the outward forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly ; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement of immortality to the flesh.”

Bland :—“ Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood : we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly,¹ but without violation : ergo, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ’s body ; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver ; for, if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say ; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receive both one thing.² And yet it cannot be denied but the mouse will live with consecrated bread ;³ and then ye must grant the absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents.”

Mills :—“ Men’s bodies be fed with Christ’s body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed to eternal life ; but men’s bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine : and we deny that, by the sacramental eating, any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body.”

Bland :—“ Whereas it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated, ye cannot avoid that. But then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of man’s body, by Christ’s body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man’s natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, ‘ Men’s bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine ;’ and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man. For *ex eisdem sunt et nutriuntur mixta*, or else all that is the nutriment in man, is accidents, and no substance.”

Another absurdity, that men’s bodies be nourished naturally with accidents and qualities.

Mills :—“ If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again.”

Bland :—“ Ye grant here, that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms : but I think you will have it by your miracles. And this I count a more absurdity than the other, that Christ’s body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again : for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you (which we do not), that it were there. God Almighty open your heart—if it be his will and pleasure—to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and all other my doings. I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same.”

Another, that substance is made of accidents, when ashes or worms be made of the forms of bread and wine.

Your orator in the Lord,

John Bland.

(1) Argument, a contrario sensu :—The mouse receiveth not the body inwardly, but without violation : ergo, with violation he receiveth the body inwardly. Argument : The mouse violateth not the body of Christ. The mouse violateth the substance which he eateth : ergo, the mouse eateth no substance of Christ’s body.

(2) The mouse and the unbeliever receive the body of Christ both alike, by the papists’ doctrine.

(3) Argument :—No mouse can live with accidents only, without substance. A mouse may live with consecrated hosts : ergo, consecrated hosts have not only accidents, but the substance of bread.

Marg.

ANOTHER APPEARANCE AND EXAMINATION OF JOHN BLAND.

A. D.

JUNE 13, 1555.

1555.

Richard
Thorn-
ton,
bishop of
Dover.The
words of
Bland at
his exa-
mination.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tost to and fro, from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the 13th day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton; the commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal, by his letters patent, had substituted to be his factor, before his coming over to England; the archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great sort of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly entreated and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom this aforesaid master Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought before the said bishop and his colleagues, which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, William Cocker, was examined of articles. To whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the sacrament, or no, etc. To this he answered and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament, as he is in all other good bodies: so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

THE LAST APPEARANCE OF JOHN BLAND. JUNE 20, 1555.

Another
appear-
ance.His last
appear-
ance be-
fore the
bishop of
Dover,
and
others.

Whereupon, the day being Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next; and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the 20th of June, in the same chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foresaid articles, being again repeated to him: which articles, commonly and in course, they use to object to their examinees which be brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that country of Kent, to be repeated.

Articles Ministered by Richard, Bishop of Dover, to Master Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him,

First, that thou art of the diocese of Canterbury, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the archbishop there.

II. Item, that thou art a Christian man, and dost profess the laws of God, and faith of Christ's catholic church, and the determination of the same.

III. Item, that all parsons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say, within the diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our holy mother the church doth, are excommunicate persons, and heretic, and as excommunicate and heretics ought to be named, repented, and taken.

IV. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, within the diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very body and blood of Christ is only in heaven, and no where else.

V. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith, and determination of our mother holy church, hast within this diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet dost hold, maintain, affirm,

and believe, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of Christ's church should be ministered in an unknown tongue; and that no man, safely and with a safe conscience, or without peril of sin, receiveth any sacrament ministered in any tongue that he understandeth not.

VI. Item, that thou, contrary to the catholic faith of our mother holy church, hast, and yet dost hold opinion, and say, that it is against God's word, that the sacrament of the altar should be ministered in one kind; and that no man may with a safe conscience so receive it.

VII. Item, that the premises be true, and that there is a common fame upon them within the diocese of Canterbury.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The Answers of Master Bland to the foresaid Articles.

To these articles master Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, saith to the first (granting the same), that he was a priest, and of the diocese of Canterbury.

Answer
to the
first arti-
cle, out
of the
register

To the second also he answereth affirmatively.

Item, to the third he answereth, that the article is true; meaning the catholic church to be Christ's church.

Item, in the fourth article, as touching the first part of the article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it, as it is contained in the same. And as touching the second part of the article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

Item, to the fifth article he granteth.

To the sixth, he hath preached, held, and doth hold, as it is contained in the article.

Item, to the seventh and last article he granteth the same, etc.

This done, and his answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So, the 25th day of the said month of June, he, making his appearance again in the said chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one, read before in the history of master Rogers.¹

Bland
denieth
the pope,
and is
con-
demned.

The Prayer of John Bland before his death.

The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of this cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments: thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee; which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and, through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept this burnt offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the

(1) See vol. vi. p. 601. John Bland's sentence is given in the First Edition, p. 1230, and will be found in the Appendix.—Ed.

Mary. sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly
A. D. Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour,
1555. spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit: Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it!

The History of Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, and Humfrey Middleton.

Having now passed over the examinations of master Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellows con-captives, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction; the names of whom were Nicholas Sheterden, John Frankesh, Humfrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest, constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury, the 25th day of June, the year above expressed; touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand. Forasmuch as the articles ministered against them were all one, so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter (by the Lord's help) you shall hear. In the meantime, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same.

The first Examination or Reasoning of Nicholas Sheterden with Master Harpsfield, Archdeacon, and Master Collins the Commissary, for the which they sent him to Prison.

First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very bare words of Christ, when he said, "This is my body," did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.

Sheterden :—"Then, belike, when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning, and so the cup was changed, and not the wine."

Harpsfield :—"Not so; for when Christ said, 'This cup is my blood,' he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup."¹

Sheterden :—"If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning sought as well of the bread, as of the cup."

Harpsfield :—"There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand: but of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth, without any other meaning."

Sheterden :—"Then do ye make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech; and so ye divide Christ's Supper."

Harpsfield :—"Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, 'This cup is my blood.'"

Sheterden :—"Then show me whether the words which the priests do speak over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it?"

Harpsfield :—"The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words."

Sheterden :—"If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot, or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made, and so the people do worship the priest's harlot, instead of Christ's blood. And again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest;?"

(1) The Romish catholics cannot deny a figurative speech in the cup, and yet will not grant the same in the bread.

(2) If the mind, and not the words of the priest doth it: how then is it that Duns and his fellows say, that the words be the form and formal cause only that maketh the sacrament?

for no man can tell what the priest meaneth but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry."

Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, "I pray you, master commissary, speak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers as ever I heard of."

Then stood up the commissary, and said, "Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body, but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup."

Sheterden :—"My argument is not against me at all; for I do not speak it to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance any more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood."

Commissary :—"It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, 'This cup is my blood;' but he meant the wine in the cup."

Sheterden :—"Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon; that is, whether the mind of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?"

Commissary :—"Both together do it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea the intent and the words together do it."

Sheterden :—"If the words and intent together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine; forasmuch as the words are, 'This cup is my blood,' and the intent ye say, was the wine: or else the words take none effect, but the intent only."

After, the commissary in his chamber said, it was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for if the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained, then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.

Sheterden :—"If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to be God, which is but bread; because, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it: so that by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend."

Then the commissary would prove to me, that Christ's manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of Christ in John iii., where he saith, "No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven; that is to say, the Son of Man which is in heaven." By this he would prove, that Christ was then in heaven and in earth also, naturally and bodily.

Sheterden :—"This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and man; and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error."

Commissary :—"That is not so: for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, 'the Son of Man which is in heaven.'"

Sheterden :—"If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him."

Commissary :—"Lo, how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err yourself; for it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible: for God cannot come down, because he is not passible."¹

Sheterden :—"If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible; then it might be said, by the like argument, that God could not sit; and then heaven is not his seat: and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at."

Then the commissary affirmed plainly that it was true, "God hath no right hand indeed."

Sheterden :—"Oh! what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that, because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass, that God cannot sit, and

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Collins
the com-
missary
taketh the
martyr in
hand.

The com-
missary
brought to
an absurd-
ity.

The in-
tent of the
priest
maketh
not the sacra-
ment.

Christ's
body,
whether
it may be
in two
places at
once.

The com-
missary
brought
to another
inconve-
nience.

(1) If God cannot come down, then Christ were not God: for Christ came from heaven.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.God's
hand is
spiritual.

then how can heaven be his seat; and if heaven be not his seat, then there is no heaven: and then, at length, I doubt ye will say there is no God, or else no other God, but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel."

Commissary :—"Why, doth not the Scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?"

Sheterden :—"Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a Spirit, so hath he a spiritual power, so he hath a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work, as we begin. Because we know not what hand God hath, therefore, if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said, there is no Christ."

Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also the commissary was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but, he said, they had power so to do.

My First Answering, after their Law was established.

Because I know ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my state, I was called before the suffragan, and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission. They showed it to me, and said, "There it is, and the king and queen's letters also."

Three
quarters
of a year
in prison
before the
law took
place.

Then I desired to have it read: and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles; whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament; and whether the Church of England be Christ's catholic church. To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three quarters of a year, and as I thought wrongfully: reason would, therefore, that I should answer to those things wherefore I was prisoner.

The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly, yea or nay. This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion. He said I was suspected, and presented to him.

Then I required that the accusation might be showed. He said he was not bound to show it, but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly.

Sheterden :—"And I, as a subject, do require of you justice: for that I have done, I ask no favour."

He said I was suspected. I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect.

Suffragan :—"Thou wast cast into prison for that cause."

The proceedings
of the pa-
pists were
against
the law.
The
bishop of
Dover a
protest-
ant in
king Ed-
ward's
time.

Sheterden :—"That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, that therefore I must now, for amends, be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before. For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore, in that point, I could be no more suspected than you which preached the same yourself not long before."

Suffragan :—"That was no matter to thee, what I preached."

Sheterden :—"Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly: and therefore I require, as a subject, that ye do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspect more than you yourself."

Then said master Mills, I had written to my mother, and he did see the letter, wherein I persuaded my mother to my opinions.

Sheterden :—"In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in prison for any evil. And that was before the law, also; and therefore no more suspicion was in me, than was in them which taught the like."

Mills :—"Well, ye are required here to answer directly, yea or no."

Sheterden :—"First, then, I require of you to prove his suspicion." And thus we tossed to and fro. At last the bishop said, he himself did suspect me. I asked, whereby?

Suffragan :—"Well," said he, "I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby."

Sheterden :—"But your commission doth not serve you so to do without just cause of suspicion."

Suffragan :—" Well, yet did I suspect you."

Sheterden :—" It is not meet for you to be my accuser, and my judge also ; for that is too much for one man." And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Mills :—" If you were a christian man, you would not be ashamed of your faith being required."

Sheterden :—" I am not ashamed indeed I than God, and if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it ; but, forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you."

Mills :—" If you will not, then will we certify th king's council."

Sheterden :—" I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters' prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprisonment ; and then I will not refuse to answer your articles,¹ though there were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal al your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not."

Here much ado there was, to prove that he had no wrong ; and again, that it was not they that did it. But said *Sheterden*, "The commissary was one of them." He answered, "No, it was the archdeacon." *Sheterden* said, "You sat with him, and he asked your counsel in it : and yet if it were he, it was your church—except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another." "Well," said they, "will ye now deny that ye said then, and promise here to submit yourself henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?"

Sheterden :—" I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise : and again you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the street for you : but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the punishment. I ask no favour."

Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him, that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was nought, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

"Nay," said *Sheterden*, "you shall well know I am not ashamed of my faith : but because you do so greedily seek blood, I will answer only to that you have against me."

Suffragan :—" Nay, you shall answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion."

Sheterden :—" I am content with that ; yet all men shall know that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and not justice."

Suffragan :—" No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion."

Sheterden :—" That we shall see : for then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion without proof of the same : and, by that, I shall know whether you seek blood or no." Many other words were between them.

At last stopt up one Lovels a lawyer, which would prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward the Fourth, and Henry, etc. ; but, at last, he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then, he said, it was no wrong.

To this Nicholas said, If he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the meanwhile make laws, and then, under that, hide the first wrong, then he said true ; or else not.

Thus he kept the ban-dogs at staves' end, not as thinking to escape them, "but that I would see," said he, "the foxes leap above the ground for my blood : if they can reach it (so it be the will of God), yet we shall see them gape, and leap for it."—From Westgate in haste.

By yours,

Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, against the false Worship and Oblation of the Sacrament.

The holy sign instead of the thing signified is servile servitude ; as St. Augustine termeth it,² when the bread in the sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped, instead of the flesh assumed of the word of God.

(1) Upon this it appeareth the letters were written to the bishop of Winchester, by whom he was sent for afterwards and examined.

(2) De Doctr. Christiana, lib. iii. cap. 5.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Sheterden refuseth to answer before it be tried wherefore he was imprisoned.

Sheterden refuseth to submit himself

One Lovels a loveless lawyer.

False worshipping of the sacrament.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Against
sacramen-
tal obla-
tion.

There was no mention of worshipping the creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate: therefore the saying of Christ concerning divorce, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning, nor shall be to the end.

The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogate, when this sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the soul as well of the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews: "With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified." Again, "Where is remission, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him."

This word "by himself" hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all priests from authority to enterprise such oblation; whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for others to do. So seemeth our purgatory already past and done, not to come and remaining to be done.

The Examination of Nicholas Sheterden before the Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor.

I was called into a chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the suffragan, and others, priests I think for the most part. He standing to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the cardinal was not there, I bowed myself and stood near.

Unjust
imprison-
ment of
Sheter-
den.

Then said he, "I have sent for you, because I hear you are indicted of heresy; and, being called before the commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit yourself." I said, "If it like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged for that, and not to be examined of articles to hide my wrong imprisonment; neither did I know any indictment against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the law was made."

Winchester :—"Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge yourself."

I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, etc., trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right. *Winchester* said, "If thou wilt declare thyself to the church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong imprisonment," etc.¹

I said, "I am not minded to sue now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not: but if I offend the law, then punish me accordingly. For it may be that my conscience is not persuaded, nor will be, in prison; seeing those things which I have learned, were by God's law openly taught and received by authority of the realm." And he said, it was never received, that I might speak against the sacrament. I said, against some opinion of the sacrament it was openly taught.

Winchester said, By no law, and that it was notable to consider that (all that while) God preserved that, so that no law could pass against it.

I said, "Their law did not only persuade me, but this most: when they preached unto us, they took pain to set out the word of God in our tongue, so that we might read and judge whether they say true or no; but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so; which is to me a great persuasion."

The ca-
tholics
stand
upon the
number.

Winchester :—"It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding, but the doctors and all the whole church. Now whom wouldest thou believe, either the few or the many?"

Sheterden :—"I do not believe for the few nor for the many; but only for that he bringeth the word, and sheweth it to me to be so according to the process thereof."

The faith-
ful stand
upon the
Word.

"Well," said *Winchester*, "then if an Arian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he show this text, 'My Father is greater than I.'"

I answered, "No, my lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he saith, 'My Father and I am one.'"

"Yea," said *Winchester*, "that is by charity, as we be one with him."

(1) *Winchester* maketh a miracle that there was no law in king Edward's time against the sacrament of the altar.

I said, that gloss would not stand with the rest of the Scripture, where he said, "I am the very same that I say to you;" "He said the truth, and the truth was God," etc. with much such like.

And here he made many words (but very gently) of the sacrament: "Likewise Christ said," quoth he, "it was his body; yea (that is to say) a figure of his body;" and how men did not consider the word was God, and God the word: and so provoked me with such temptation. But I let him alone, and said nothing.

So, after many words, Winchester came to the church's faith, and comely orders of ceremonies and images. And then I joined to him again with the commandments. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the heathen would worship a cat, because she killed mice. I said, that it was plain that the law forbade not only such, but even to make an image of God to any manner of likeness.

Winchester:—"Where find ye that?"

Sheterden:—"Forsooth in the law, where God gave them the Commandments: for he said, 'Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only:' and added a reason why; 'lest they should after make images, and mar themselves:' so that God would not show his shape, because they should have no image of him which was the true God," etc.

Winchester said, I made a goodly interpretation. I said, no, it was the text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, he bade me find it, and I should strait be confounded with mine own words; so that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more; and when I looked, it was Latin.

"Why," said Winchester, "can ye read no Latin?" "No."

Then was the English Bible brought. He bade me find it; and so I read it aloud, and then he said; "Lo, here thou mayest see; this is no more to forbid the image of God, than of any other beast, fowl, or fish" (the place was Deut. iv.). I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these as an image of God, because no man might know what shape he was of. Therefore might no man say of any image, "This is an image of God."

Winchester:—"Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may; that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old¹ man," etc.

Sheterden:—"That is no proof that we make images contrary to the commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a dove, yet was he not like in shape, but in certain qualities. And therefore when I saw the dove² which is God's creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, etc.:" and with that he was somewhat moved, and said, I had learned my lesson; and asked who taught me; with many words. And he said he would prove how good and profitable images were to teach the unlearned, etc.

At the last I said, "My lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents;" and much ado we had. At last he saw, he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity's sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle; and said, my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear myself.

I said, that was easy for me to do; for I had not offended.

Winchester said, I could not escape so; there I was deceived.

I said, "Well, then I am under the law," etc.

The archdeacon was there called in for me, and he laid to me, that with such arrogancy and stoutness as never was heard, I behaved myself before him; whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, etc. And many lies he laid to me, "that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, but went out of the church with such an outcry as was notable."

I declared, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the laws then in the realm, and the queen's proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the law were to compel; and that I rehearsed the same in the court for me; "and I did use him then," said I, "as I used your grace now, and no otherwise."

(1) But the Commandment saith: (Deut. iv.) "Thou shalt make no image of God, either man or woman," etc.

(2) The qualities of this dove seemed here to want in Winchester.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

Winchester defendeth images.

No image of God to be made.

The Holy Ghost like a dove in some qualities but not in shape.

How the catholics falsely slander the faithful innocent.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

Winchester said, that I did not use myself very well now.—I said, I had offered myself to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

Winchester said, I should not confer, but be obedient.—I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither; and when I offended, let them punish me: and so departed

By your brother,

Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate.

THE LAST EXAMINATION WITH THE CONDEMNATION OF THE
FOUR GODLY MARTYRS, MASTER BLAND, JOHN FRANKESH,
NICHOLAS SHETERDEN, AND HUMFREY MIDDLETON.¹

And thus much touching the particular, and several examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of master Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humfrey Middleton of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolvenden, in the diocese of Kent above mentioned, here first would be declared the articles which publicly, in their last examinations, were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the foresaid Thornton, bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these articles, being ordinary and of course, are already expressed in the story of master Bland, as may appear before; it shall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humfrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days to deliberate with himself: which was granted. Master Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden and Humfrey Middleton answered to the first and second articles affirmatively. To the third, concerning the catholic church, after a sort they granted. To the fourth, and fifth, and sixth, touching the real presence, and the sacrament to be ministered in the Latin tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto before the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained prisoner, before the laws of parliament received, etc. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, "My living God, and no dead God," etc. Thacker only relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four, upon these answers, were condemned by the bishop of Dover, the 25th day of June, Anno 1555.

Thacker
recants.

And so, being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury the 12th of July, at two several stakes, but all in one fire together, where they, in the sight of God and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy gospel.

The Christian Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands. Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of

(1) Ex Regist. Cant.

the worldly minded for thy law's sake : yea Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do I, and many thy creatures, refuse the glory, praise, and commodity of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished ; yea to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For Lord thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by thy permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul and body ; and lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Sacrifice
of obedience
to God.

O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness ; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is any sacrifice worthy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will. And now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and solace ; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen.

Sacrifice
of thanks
for redemption.Sacrifice
of the
body.

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden ; and, first, a Letter to his Mother.

After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well-beloved mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and godly wisdom, that ye may see and perceive the crafty bewitching of Satan our mortal enemy, which, as I have divers times declared unto you, doth not openly show himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him ; but, having confidence in men's traditions and customs of the world, leaving the commandments of God, and testament of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of souls, doth by his ministers make many believe, that those things which they compel us unto for their bellies' sake, have many godly significations, although they be most contrary to God's will, as doubtless they be ; even as did the serpent in paradise to our first mother Eve. "What," said he, "hath God commanded ye shall not eat of all the trees in the garden?" The woman said, "Of the fruits of the trees in the garden we may eat." "But of the tree in the midst of the garden," said God, "see ye eat not, lest ye die." Even so our ministers now a-days, say, "Hath God commanded ye shall not make you any image or likeness of any thing?" "Yea, forsooth." "Tush," say they, "what harm can they do? May we not remember God the better when we see his image or picture? for they are good books for the laymen : " but indeed they be better for the priests, because they receive the offerings.

Satan
transformeth
himself
into an
angel of
light.As the
serpent
seduced
Eve by an
apple,
so priests
seduce
the people
by images.
Images
more profitable
books for
priests
than for
laymen.

And look how truly the promise of the serpent was kept with Eve, so is the persuasion of our priests found true to us. For as Adam and Eve did become like God in knowing good and evil, so are we in remembering God by his image. For Adam's eyes were so open, that he lost both innocence and righteousness, and was become most miserable of all creatures : and even so we remember Christ so well by images, that we forget his commandments, and count his testament, confirmed in his blood, for stark madness or heresy ; so miserably have we remembered him, that of all people we are most blind. And this doth follow upon our presumption, when we remember God by breaking of his law : and therefore surely, except we repent shortly, God will remember us in his wrath, and reward us with his plagues : as sure as there is a God it will come to pass.

Sheterden
prophesieth
of God's
plagues

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Learning
without
God's
word is
vain.Anti-
christ
hath
turned
the
church
clean up-
side
down.The fa-
thers that
heard no
better are
not to be
con-
demned,
but rather
will con-
demn us
that hear
and re-
ceive it
not.God's vi-
sitation
not to be
refused.Experi-
ence how
God's
martyrs
seek not
the world.

But I know the craftiness of them herein (I thank God) which will say, "Where went he to school? Is he wiser than our great doctors that studied all their life?" And lo, they say that it is good hay: although we smell it musty ourselves, yet must we believe it is sweet; and then pay them well for their so saying, and all is safe. But I might say again, What, sir! be ye wiser than Christ, and God his Father, or the Holy Ghost? What! wiser than the prophets, and the holy apostles, and all the holy martyrs? I pray you, sir, where had you your high learning? Is it higher than God (being in heaven) is able to reach; or have ye set it lower in hell than ever Christ durst to venture? For it is some strange learning, belike, that Christ and his apostles could never attain to the knowledge of it. But vain men are never without some shift; for, peradventure, they will not be ashamed to say, that Christ, coming on his Father's message, did forget half his errand by the way. For I dare say, the greater half of their ceremonies were never commanded by Christ: yea, I doubt it would be hard to find one in the church perfectly as he left it: so Romishly hath Antichrist turned the church upside down for lucre's sake.

Beloved mother, as I have oftentimes said unto you, even so now I beseech you from my very heart-root in Christ, to consider your own soul's health is offered you; do not cast it off: we have not long time here. Why should we deceive ourselves either for ease of our flesh, or for the winning of this world's treasure: I know that some will say to you, Why should we condemn our fathers that lived thus? God forbid that we should condemn any that did according to their knowledge: but let us take heed that they condemn not us, for if they had heard the word as we have, and had been warned as we have, it is to be thought that they would more thankfully have received it than we do: yea, they were more faithful in that they knew, than many now are. Therefore they shall be our condemnation, if we do not embrace this grace offered us. And surely look how many of them God will accept and save, those shall we never see, nor have any part among them: for our disobedience is more great than their ignorance. Wherefore, if we will meet our fathers in bliss and joy, let us not refuse his mercy offered more largely to us than to them, even according to Christ's promise, which said, after such great ignorance as to seek him from country to country, and find him not: "Yet shall the gospel," saith he, "be preached in all the world, and then shall the end come."

And now let us know the time of our visitation, and not turn back again, seeing we are once delivered: for surely God will not bear it at our hands to turn backward. Oh remember Lot's wife. God must needs punish out of hand our shameful backsliding, either with induration and hardness of heart, so that they shall persecute his church and his true servants, or else reward it with open vengeance and plagues. And therefore, good mother, accept this my simple letter as a fruit of my love and obedience to you. Would God we might be so knit in faith and trust in God's word and promises here in this life, as we might together enjoy the bliss and consolation of eternal life; which I desire and seek above all worldly treasure, as ye partly know. If I would seek the good will of men contrary to my conscience, I could make some my friends which now, peradventure, are jealous over me amiss: but, I thank God, let them weigh the matter between God and their consciences, and they have no just cause so to do. Nevertheless I would they would yet refrain and put their matter and mine into the even balance of God's most holy word, there to be weighed by the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed unto us by the holy patriarchs, and prophets, and by Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Mediator, and by his holy apostles. And then, I doubt not, but our matter shall be ended with peace and joyfulness of heart; which God grant us for his mercy's sake. Amen.

Your own child,

Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate, 1555

A Letter to his Brother, Walter Sheterden.

My uncle
hath been
with me,
and made
great pro-
mises.

I wish you health in Christ, true knowledge of his word, and a faithful obedient heart unto the same. It is showed me, my brother, that ye willed me by a letter made to a friend of yours to persuade with me, that I should be ruled by mine uncle, which saith, he will bestow his goods very largely upon me, if I should not stand too high in mine own conceit. But, my good brother,

I trust ye do not judge so evil of me, that I should have a faith to sell for money. For though he or you were able to give me the treasure of the whole country, yet, I thank my Lord God, I do judge it but a heap of dung, in respect of the treasure hid within; yet I do esteem a buckle of your shoe, if it come with good will. And for to be counselled and ruled by him or you, or any other my friends, I do not, neither have refused it, if they require no more of me than my power, and that which belongeth to mortal men. But, if they require of me any thing which pertaineth to God only, there is neither high nor low, friend nor foe (I trust in God), shall get it of me, nor yet the angels in heaven.

For though I be not learned (as the vain men of the world call learning), yet, I thank my Lord God, I have learned out of God's book, to know God from his creatures, and to know Christ from his sacraments, and to put a difference between the merits of Christ's passion and his Supper, and a difference between the water of baptism, and the Holy Ghost, and not to mix and mingle all things confusedly together; so that if one ask me a question or a reason of my faith, I must say thus: "I believe as holy church believeth." If he ask me what is the order of that faith, I should be so ignorant that I could not discern God from his creatures, nor Christ from his sacraments! If I should so monstrously utter my faith, that I were not able to judge between Christ's birth and his burial, nor which were first, of his mortification, and his glorification, who would believe that my faith were sound?

For some affirm that Christ did not give to his apostles a mortal and a passible body, but an immortal and glorified body, so that he should have a glorified body before his death, and so his glorification was before his resurrection; and that he was risen before he was crucified, and crucified before his baptism; and then they may as well say, he was baptized before his birth, and born before he was conceived, and conceived before he was promised; and that were even right Antichrist to turn all things backward, and then say, "Oh! ye must believe, for God is Almighty, he can do all things," etc. Truth it is, that God is almighty indeed, and yet I may not believe things contrary to his word, that Christ's body was glorified before he died: for God's omnipotency doth not stand in things contrary to his will, but in performing his will at his pleasure in time; neither doth he require of us to judge or believe of his almighty power, that he hath made the end of the world to come before the beginning, nor yet the fruit to come before the blossom; and yet is he nevertheless Almighty.

But if, peradventure, ye shall think with yourself, Why, they are learned; it were marvel but they should know what is the truth, as well as others which never kept no such study, etc.: to that I answer, that if they had studied God's word, the Author of truth, as they have done logic and Duns, with the legend of lies, they should have been as expert in the truth, as they be now in bald reasons.¹ But thus hath God fulfilled his promise, that such should be deluded with lies, which would not believe nor walk in his truth.

And again: this is a good cause to make us think surely, that this was the cause that God gave them over at the first to error, after the apostles' time, by little and little, as they grew in sin. For seeing we had his truth now among us a few years, because we did not obey unto it, we see what a sudden change God hath brought upon us for our sins' sake. And why should not we think that this and such like disobedience was the cause that God took his word from all Christendom at the first, and cast a darkness upon them that would not walk in his light? For it is evident enough to see how unlike their doings be to Christ's and his apostles: and that seen, either we must judge Christ's doings very slender, and theirs good, or else that indeed they be the very Antichrists, which should come and turn all things out of frame. Thus I have been bold to trouble you, which I trust shall not be altogether in vain. Pray for me as I do for you.

By your brother,

Nicholas Sheterden,
Prisoner for the truth in Westgate.

Another Letter to his Brother.

God, which is the giver of all goodness, and that freely for his love to us (not only without our deserts, but contrary to the same), grant you, my brother, such

(1) He speaketh not against the true use of logic.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

No order
nor reason in the
popes doctrine.

So should
we have
twobodies
at once,
one glorified,
and
another
mortal.

We are
bound to
believe
what God
hath expressly
willed, not
what he is
able to do.

Why God
taket his
word from
realms.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Time of
God's
visitation
to be re-
ceived.

increase of godly knowledge and love unto the virtues thereunto belonging, as may give you such a taste in heavenly things, that all treasure of earthly things may savour to you, as indeed they are, most vain and uncertain; so shall ye never take them for no better than they be. Yea, whether God take them from us, or give them unto us, we shall know ourselves neither richer nor poorer before God. But if we lay up in our hearts the treasure of his word, we shall not only enrich ourselves against the time of need, but also arm ourselves against the battle with weapons and harness which is invincible, and clothe ourselves against the marriage. For behold, the Lord hath called us of long time to the feast, and blown the trumpet to prepare the battle. Let us know the time of our visitation, lest the Lord, sitting on his mount, bewail our destruction, which he desireth not, but because he is just to punish such as continue in sin, even as he is merciful to forgive the repentant that turn in time; for so is God, that cannot deny himself.

Certificate
of con-
science.Spiritual
provision.The vic-
tory of
truth.

Let us therefore in this day, while it is called to-day, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts by resistance of his will, lest he swear in his wrath, that we shall not enter into his rest. Let us count it sufficient, that we have spent the time past, as St. Peter saith, after the will of the Gentiles, in eating and drinking, chambering and wantonness, and in abominable idolatry, etc. And now let us assay a new life, and trade our members in virtue another while, lest, peradventure, we might run past any return in the contrary. But, if we now return and lay hand of his word in deed and verity, as we have long time done in talk and liberty, then will God heap upon us such certificate of conscience, as shall kindle our consolation in him, so that all treasure shall be dung to the excellent knowledge of our Saviour. Dear brother, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that we may together enjoy the bliss of eternal inheritance by one spiritual regeneration and new birth, as we are joined by nature. But, alack, the way and mean thereunto hath been much neglected of me—I will not say of you, for I had rather ye should accuse yourself—for no doubt the best of us both hath not sought for wisdom in God's word, as some in the world whom we know have sought for money: therefore they shall be our judges, if we do not learn by them. Yea the very enmet, as Solomon saith, doth teach us to provide for the time to come; for she provideth in summer against winter.

This is the best token I have for you now, which, though it be simple, yet shall it declare partly my heart's desire to you-ward, which is even as mine own soul. Let nothing dismay you for my cause: but be ye sure I shall have victory in the truth, which truth is stronger than kings, wine, or women. For, as Zerubbabel saith,¹ "Wine is unrighteous, the king is unrighteous, women are unrighteous, yea all the children of men are unrighteous; but the truth endureth, and is always strong, and conquereth for ever without end." Therefore this is to desire you, and all other my friends that wish me good, to pray that God will always keep me in his truth, as he hath begun, which prayer, if it be of such a mind as laboureth to depart from evil, shall be to me the greatest pleasure under heaven; for I desire nothing in comparison of God's truth. I thank him of his mercy, which so hath wrought; for I take it as a sure seal of the endless joy which shall hereafter follow—which God bring us unto, when his will and pleasure is; Amen.—From Canterbury.

By yours,

Nicholas Sheterden.

Another Letter of Nicholas Sheterden to his Mother, written the day before his Death.

Testi-
mony and
warning
against
the idol of
the altar.

O my good mother, whom I love with reverence in the Lord, and according to my duty, I desire your favourable blessing and forgiveness of all my misdeeds towards you. O my good mother, in few words, I wish you the same salvation, which I hope myself to feel, and partly taste of before this come to you to read; and in the resurrection, I verily believe to have it more perfectly in body and soul joined together for ever; and in that day God grant you to see my face with joy: but, dear mother, then beware of that great idolatry, and blasphemous mass. O let not that be your god, which mice and worms can devour. Behold I call heaven and earth to record, that it is no god, yea the fire that consumeth it, and the moistness that causeth it to mould; and I take Christ's Testament to witness, that it is none of his ordinances, but a mere invention of men, and

(1) 3 Esdras, iv. 37.

a snare to catch innocents' blood; and now that God hath showed it unto you, be warned in time. O give over old customs, and become new in the truth. What state soever your fathers be in, leave that to God; and let us follow the counsel of his word. Dear mother, embrace it with hearty affection; read it with obedience; let it be your pastime: but yet cast off all carnal affections, and love of worldly things; so shall we meet in joy at the last day, or else I bid you farewell for evermore. O farewell my friends and lovers all: God grant me to see your faces in joy. Amen.—From Westgate, the 11th of July, 1555.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.God's
word
must
needs be
followed.

Your child, written with his hand, and sealed with his blood, Nicholas Sheterden, being appointed to be slain.

The Copy of a Letter written to his Wife.

I wrote unto you as one that longed more to hear of your health, than of all worldly treasure, willing you to entreat Esau, the elder brother by nature, gently, giving to him his own, yea, and offer him one of the droves, and say, "they be Jacob's, and are sent for a present to my lord Esau;" but he will not take it, etc. Now, my beloved, ye know the blessing of our Father is, that the elder shall serve the younger, and Wisdom, our mother, hath taught us the same, and I know ye do complain of your servant the Flesh,¹ that he is rebellious, disobedient, and untoward; unruly and crookedly, ye think, he doth his service: but yet behold, how shall ye plead your cause before an indifferent judge? For if it be true that his service be not according to his duty, as it is many times found in servants; yet, I say, can you show your cause to no indifferent judge, but he shall object against you that he is not kept like a servant, but he lacketh both meat and drink, and other necessities meet and due for a servant: so shall ye take more shame of your own complaint, than remedy or vantage against your servant; and it shall be a cloak for him to hide all his rebellion and untoward service, because ye have misused him.

And therefore my sentence is, that ye patiently bear with him in small faults, and amend your own great faults, as oppression, cruelty, and covetousness, requiring more than a servant can do, specially being tired with labour, famined with hunger, and lamed with stripes. And these things amended, if he do his service negligently (as, no doubt, sometimes he will), yet then ye may boldly correct him with discretion; and sometimes, if he do not his task, ye may make him go to bed supperless: but yet beat him not with durable strokes, neither withhold his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the belly continually,² but let him have something to joy in: only watch him, and keep him from doing of harm. Though he be but a stranger in the life that is in God, yet be good to strangers; for we were all strangers in darkness, and captives in sin, as well soul and spirit, being in Egypt, as now the flesh is yet unbaptized with the terrible Red Sea of death; and remember that one law abideth for the stranger,—I mean, one reward abideth both for body³ and soul in the land of everlasting rest. And therefore entreat him gently, and deal with him justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of bondage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fellow-heir with your younger brother.

Circumcise him, therefore, but do not misuse him, nor keep him from his own; but deal mercifully with the stranger, that he may say, "Oh! of what understanding heart is this people: who hath God, or where is God, so nigh as to these?" God make you wise and politic in heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the nations with a rod. But kill not the Gibeonites, with whom peace is taken; but let them draw water and hew wood, but give them their meat and drink due for labourers. And be glad because your disease is so remedied; for it is better and easier for a thirsty labouring man to drink, than for a drunken man to tell a soberwise tale. Yea it is a token that ye have earnestly followed your labour, and not kept company with drunkards and belly-gods: and therefore be glad I say, yea, and glad again; for great is your reward in heaven: yea, blessed shall she be, that in this your zeal shall meet you, and withdraw your hand from revenging yourself upon that churlish Nabal; which

How a
man's bo-
dy is to be
ordered
with dis-
cretion.The Gi-
beonites,
though
they
be but
strangers
and not to
be pam-
pered, yet
are they
not to be
cast out.

(1) By this servant, belike, he meant her own body, which she pinched too much with penury or fasting more than needed.

(2) Corporis curam agite, non ad concupiscentias

(3) The body of man is redeemed as well as the soul.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

thing I hope to do now with these sweet raisins and frails of figs. I, being of one house with your servant Nabal, I dare say to you that Churlishness is his name : but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time. Farewell, mine own heart.

Yours in bonds at Westgate,

Nicholas Sheterden.

*See
Appendix.*

The next day after the condemnation of these aforesaid, which was the 26th day of June, were also examined for the same articles, William Coker, William Hopper of Cranbrook, Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of Ashford, William Stere of Ashford. But because the execution of these martyrs pertaineth not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord willing, of them, when we come to the month following of August.

Nicholas Hall and Christopher Wade, Martyrs.

The same month of July next after the suffering of the Kentishmen above named, followed the death and martyrdom of Nicholas Hall, bricklayer, and Christopher Wade, of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified, the brief sum whereof were these.

A brief Sum of their Articles.

First, That they were christian men, and professed the catholic determinations of our mother holy church.

2. That they which maintain or hold otherwise than our holy mother the catholic church doth, are heretics.

3. That they hold and maintain, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, is not the very body and blood of Christ. And that the said very body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not in the sacrament.

4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that the mass, as it is now used in the catholic church, is naught and abominable.

5. Item, that they have been and be, amongst the people of that jurisdiction, vehemently suspected upon the premises, and thereupon indicted, etc.

Their Answers.

Their
answers.

To these articles they answered, as commonly others used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth against these pretended catholics, and their sinister doctrine.

This word
mother-
church is
not found
in the
Scripture.

First, granting themselves christian men, and acknowledging the determinations of the holy church, that is, of the congregation or body of Christ,—save that Hall denied to call the catholic and apostolic church his mother, because he found not this word, “mother,” in the Scripture.

To the 2d they granted.

Answer
of Hall.

To 3d article as touching the very body and blood of Christ to be under the forms of bread and wine in substance they would not grant, only affirming the very body of him to be in heaven, and in the sacrament to be a token or remembrance of Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding moreover, and saying, that whereas, before, he held the sacrament to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's death, now, he said, that therein is neither token nor remembrance, because it is now misused and clean turned from Christ's institution, etc.

Answer
of Wade.

And concerning the mass in the 4th article, to be abominable, Christopher Wade with the other answered, that as they had confessed before, so would they now not go from that they had said.

To the 5th article, for the people's suspicion, they made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same.

And thus much concerning the articles and answers of these good men : which being received, immediately sentence of condemnation was pronounced by the said Maurice the bishop against them, the copy of which sentence, as it runneth much after the common course in condemning all other like servants of Christ ; so the same being exemplified before in the story of master Rogers, shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but rather may be referred over to the place above noted.

Nicholas Hall was burned at Rochester about the 19th day of July.¹ Furthermore, with the aforesaid Hall and Wade, in the same month of July, three others were condemned by Maurice, bishop aforesaid, whose names were Joan Beach, widow, John Harpol of Rochester, and Margery Polley : of which Margery Polley, touching her examination and condemnation, here followeth in story.

The Examination and Condemnation of Margery Polley, Widow and Martyr.²

Margery Polley, widow, wife some time of Richard Polley of Pepenbury, was accused and brought before the said Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the beginning of the month of June : which bishop, according to the pontifical solemnity of that church, rising up out of the chair of his majesty, in the high swelling style, after his ordinary fashion, to dash the silly poor woman, began in these words :—

“ We Maurice, by the sufferance of God, bishop of Rochester, proceeding of our mere office in a cause of heresy, against thee, Margery Polley, of the parish of Pepenbury, of our diocese and jurisdiction of Rochester, do lay and object against thee all and singular these articles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them, we require of thee a true, full, and plain answer, by virtue of thine oath thereupon to be given,” etc.

Thus the oath first being ministered, and the articles commenced against her, which articles were the same that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Wade before, she so framed her answers again, especially answering to the 3d and 4th Articles, that she neither allowed the deity of their sacrament, nor the absurdity of their mass. For the which, sentence was read against her about the beginning of June, and she condemned for the same. But because her death followed not upon the same, we will therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place and time, first setting down in order of history the execution of Christopher Wade above-mentioned.

THE EXECUTION AND MARTYRDOM OF CHRISTOPHER WADE.

Christopher Wade of Dartford, in the county of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was, betimes in the morning, carried out of the town, in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brimpt, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Condemnation of
Hall and
Wade,
martyrs.

(1) Ex Registro.

(2) *Ibid.*

Mary. broom-faggots, with other faggots and tall wood : unto which place
 A.D. resorted the people of the country in great numbers, and there tar-
 1555. ried his coming, insomuch that thither came divers fruiterers with
 horse-loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock
 cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many of other gentlemen and
 their retinue appointed to assist him therein, and with them Wade,
 riding pinioned, and by him one Margery Polley of Tunbridge ; both
 singing of a psalm : which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the
 multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting
 his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, " You may
 rejoice, Wade, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your
 marriage this day."

And so, passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway,
 they were carried straight down to the town, where she was kept until
 the sheriff returned from Wade's execution. And Wade, being
 made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an inn, had brought
 unto him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and
 he pinioned, he was led up on foot again to the foresaid place. And
 coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, embracing it,
 and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitchbarrel,
 which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith
 brought a hoop of iron, and, with two staples, made him fast to the
 stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes
 lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of
 Psalm lxxxvi. : " Show some good token upon me, O Lord, that
 they which hate me, may see it, and be ashamed ; because thou, Lord,
 hast helped me, and comforted me." Near unto the stake was a
 little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four staves, quad-
 rangle-wise, with a covering round about like a pulpit : into the which
 place, as Wade was thus praying at the stake, entered a friar with a
 book in his hand ; whom when Wade espied, he cried earnestly unto
 the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of Babylon,
 exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in
 king Edward's days ; whom the sheriff, thus speaking to the people,
 often interrupted, saying, " Be quiet, Wade ! and die patiently." " I
 am," said he, " I thank God, quiet, master sheriff ! and so trust
 to die." All this while the friar stood still, looking over the cover-
 let, as though he would have uttered somewhat : but Wade very
 mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine ; which
 when the friar perceived, whether he were amazed, or could have no
 audience of the people, he withdrew himself out of the place imme-
 diately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the
 town. Then the reeds being set about him, Wade pulled them, and
 embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole
 against his face, that his voice might be heard, which they perceiv-
 ing that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole,
 which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could, put off, his face being
 hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put
 unto him, he cried unto God often, " Lord Jesus ! receive my
 soul ;" without any token or sign of impatiency in the fire, till at
 length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by

no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head together towards heaven, even when he was dead and altogether roasted ; as though they had been stayed up with a prop standing under them. *Mary.*
A.D.
1555.

This sign did God show upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive, that God had, according to his prayer, showed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly martyr's execution : this was his end ; whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, that locust which was risen up to have spoken against him ; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

Spectatores præsentēs, Richardus Fletcher pater, nunc minister ecclesiæ Cranbroke ; Richardus Fletcher filius, minister ecclesiæ Riensis.¹

The Apprehension, Examination, Condemnation, and Burning, of Dirick Carver and John Launder,

WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S
GOSPEL.

The 22d day of this month of July, was burned at Lewes, within the county of Sussex, one Dirick Carver, late of the parish of Brightelmstone in the same county. And the next day (being the 23d day of the same month) was also burned at Stenning, another named John Launder, late of Godstone in the county of Surrey : which two men were (with others), about the end of the month of October, A.D. 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick ; and by him were sent up unto the queen's council, who, after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester, now lord treasurer) they were brought by the keeper of the prison the 8th of June next after, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London ; and there (being examined upon divers points of religion) they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly and directly to answer thereunto ; which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions. *See
Appendix.*

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their answers. To whom Launder said, "I will never go from these answers so long as I live." The other also confirmed the same, and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the consistory at Paul's, the tenth day of the same month next following ; which articles and confession, with the aforementioned letter do here ensue.

(1) "Riensis," that is, of Rye in Sussex.—Ed.

Carver
and
Launder
appearing
before
bishop
Bonner.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

A Letter sent from the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treasurer, unto Bonner Bishop of London, touching the Examination of the said Prisoners.

After my right hearty commendations to your good lordship, I shall not forget your livery of black against this time;¹ no more I shall master dean, to whom I wrote to make the sermon, who must now assuredly do it: for my lord of Chichester cannot attend it. To whom I have given like knowledge by my letter now sent, and your lordship must command the sextons of your church to be in readiness for ringing-in the time of service. And if ye be not furnished with black apparel for the altar, and for the priest, deacon, and subdeacon, I must have knowledge thereof, that it be taken of the queen's stuff, whereof I pray you let me be advertised.

And ye have sent Bradford to Newgate, as a man determined of heresy before you: but, as I perceive, ye have not sent me a "significavit," and therefore you must send me one, that I may proceed with him; and that I shall do, as soon as I am answered of you.

Lord treasurer
urgeth
Bonner.

There be divers like prisoners² that came from Sussex, that be not yet examined before you, lying now in Newgate, which must be examined by you, since they be come to London; and so I pray they may be, and I certified of your proceedings, that I may follow; which I shall do, thanking your lordship heartily for my conies, trusting to recompense your lordship again shortly with twice as many.—From my house this 7th of June, 1555.

Your loving friend,

Winchester.

The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner Bishop of London.

The material substance of the sacrament denied to be the body of Christ really.
The use and sacrifice of the Latin mass denied.

Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthelmstone, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelled by the space of eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson by Stockom in the land of Luke,³ forty years of age (or thereabout), and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained and continued at the council's commandment, since Allhallow's day last past, being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith, that he hath, and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the said mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a christian man, except it should be said in the mother-tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a christian man.

Auricular confession and absolution rejected.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe, that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a christian man's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

The faith of the church of England in Mary's time re-proved.

Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed in the church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used, in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he saith, that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as he believeth; and saith, that they did shed their blood in the same doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he saith and believeth.

(1) These funerals were for the king's grandmother, the old queen of Spain.

(2) He meaneth Dirick Carver and John Launder.

(3) "Luke" means Liège; for proof of which, see Appendix to vol. v., note on p. 132. The three places named in this line are all comprehended in the following sentence from Ondiette's 'Dictionnaire Géographique et Topographique des treize Départemens,' vol. i. p. 78: "*Dilsem*, village, départ. de la Meuse-Inférieure, arrond. de Ruremond, ci-dev. pays de Liège; Popul. environ 600 habitants, *pres de Stockom*." Dirick Carver was in short a Dutchman. See the Addenda to this Appendix for further illustration of this fact.

And further, being examined, he saith that since the queen's coronation he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English, read in his house at Brighthelmstone divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate: but the keeper, hearing thereof, did take them away; and saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past, he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers.

And further saith, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and William Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examine in his house at Brighthelmstone, as they were hearing of the gospel, then read in English, a little before Allhallown day last past, and brought into the court: and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Imprisonment
for hear-
ing the
gospel.

The Confession of John Launder before, Bonner Bishop of London.

John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, doth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallowntide last past, this examine, and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, William Vesie, with divers other persons to the number of twelve (being altogether in their prayers, and saying the service in English, set forth in the time of king Edward the Sixth, in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brightonhamstead in Sussex), were apprehended by one master Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he, with his said other fellows, hath ever since remained in prison.

And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthelmstone was upon certain business there to be sped for his father: and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this examine did resort to his house and company (whom before that time he did never see or know), and by reason of that his resort, he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world; and doth believe also, that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, viz. the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord: and whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe that all the service, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England (yea and in all other parts of the world, which have been used after the same manner), be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution, and the determination of Christ's catholic church, whereof he believeth that he himself is a member.

The cause
of the ap-
prehen-
sion of
John
Launder.Two sa-
craments
only.Cere-
monies ab-
horred.

Also he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament, now called the sacrament of the altar, there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance: but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, viz. that when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in remembrance of Christ's death and passion; and, so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none other ways as he believeth.

The real
presence
of Christ's
body under
the
forms of
bread and
wine denied.

And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his catholic church; and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable. For he saith, that albeit the Gloria in excelsis, the Creed, Sanctus, Paternoster, Agnus, and other parts of the mass, be of themselves good and profitable, yet the same being used amongst other things that be naught and superfluous in the mass, the same good things do become naught, also; as he believeth.

The mass
abomina-
ble.

Also he doth believe and confess that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins. And also believeth that the right

Auricular
confes-
sion not
neces-
sary.

Mary. and true way (according to the scripture), after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith, etc.

Articles objected by Bonner Bishop of London against Dirick Carver and John Launder.

First, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the said prison of Newgate, and within the said city of London, are of my jurisdiction (being bishop of London), and subject unto the same, offending and trespassing within the said prison and city in matters of religion, and concerning the catholic faith and belief of the church in any wise.

Sacraments of penance and the altar. 2. Item, I do object against you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, since your first coming and entering into the said prison, and during your abode there, both there and in sundry places within this city and diocese of London, have holden, maintained, and defended sundry opinions against the sacraments of the church, especially against the sacrament of penance, and also against the sacrament of the altar.

Real presence. 3. Item, I do likewise object that ye, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have (as concerning the sacrament of the altar) holden, maintained, and defended, to the best of your power, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, but that in the sacrament there is only the substance of natural bread and wine, and no other substance.

The Latin mass. 4. Item, I do likewise object that you, and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have, concerning the mass in Latin now used in the church, and the sacrifice of the same, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said mass is not good nor profitable, and that there is no sacrifice in the same.

Ceremonies. 5. Item, I do likewise object, that you and every of you, in all or some of the places, have, concerning the ceremonies of the church, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that the said ceremonies are not profitable to a christian man, but hurtful and evil.

Auricular confession. 6. Item, I do likewise object, that you and every of you, in all or some of the said places, have concerning the sacrament of penance, holden, maintained, and likewise defended, that auricular confession (being a part thereof), albeit it may be made unto a good priest for counsel, yet the absolution of the priest, laying his hand upon any man's head, and doing as is now usually done in the church, is nothing profitable to any man's salvation; and that therefore ye neither have been confessed to the priest after the usual manner of the church, nor yet received the said sacrament of the altar since the coronation of the queen's majesty, which is more than the space of one year and a half.

The faith and doctrine of the Church of England. 7. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all or some of the said places, concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, used, and believed in the church of this realm of England, and the doctrine of the same, have holden, believed, and said, that it is not agreeable to God's word, but clean contrary to the same.

Defending of Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, etc. 8. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, in all, or some of the said places, have believed, spoken, and said, and to your power upholden, maintained, and said, that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which of late within this realm were burnt for heresy, were good christian men, in speaking and holding against the said sacrament of the altar; and that they did preach nothing but the true doctrine of Christ, shedding their blood for the maintenance of the said doctrine.

English service and the religion used in King Edward's time. 9. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travailed, to the best and uttermost of your power, to have up again the English service, and the communion in all points, as was used in the latter days of King Edward the Sixth, here in this realm of England.

10. Item, I do likewise object, that ye and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and steadfastly, and so have and do believe, that the faith, religion,

and doctrine, set forth in the said time of the foresaid king Edward, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true faith and religion of Christ, in every part.

11. Item, I do likewise object and say, that ye, and every of you (for your misbelief, offence, transgression, and misbehaviour in the premises, and for that also you would not come to your several parish churches, and hear your divine service there, as other christian people did and do, but absent yourselves from the same, and have your private service in your houses (especially in the house of Dirick Carver), were sent up unto the king and queen's majesty's privy council, and by them or some of them sent afterward into the prison of Newgate aforesaid, having there, by their authority, remained as prisoners during all the time ye have been there.

12. Item, I do likewise object and say, that I the said bishop of London was commanded, by the authority of the said council, to make process against you, and every of you,¹ so that it was not my procuring or searching that ye should be commanded or called before me in this matter of heresy, but partly your own demerits, and partly the said commandment, enforced me to call and send for you to make answer herein; and hereof to show you the said letters.

Upon Monday, being the said tenth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory (as it was before commanded) at one of the clock in the afternoon; where the bishop, first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession with the articles and answers to be openly read unto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of every prisoner), asking him whether he would stand to the same. To whom the said Dirick answered, that he would: "for your doctrine," quoth he, "is poison and sorcery. If Christ were here you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say, that you can make a god: ye can make a pudding as well. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and very poison:" with divers other such words.

The bishop, seeing this constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards this Dirick as also upon the said John Launder, although severally: who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy, as did the other, and therefore were both delivered unto the sheriffs, who were there present; but afterwards were conveyed to the places above named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who had assured them to a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches, as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true professing of Christ (the Lord by his grace so working in him); of the which, there was such havock made by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and children had little or none thereof. During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years (and, as it were, past the time of learning), yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could, before his death, read perfectly any printed English: whose diligence and zeal is worthy no

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

Absence from popish service.

The words of Carver to Bonner.

Carver and Launder sent into the country to be burned.

The cruel spoil of Carver's goods.

Carver learns to read in the prison

(1) If their putting to death were lawful by God, why do ye excuse it? If it were not lawful, why do ye so at man's commandment?

Mary. small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to let it
A. D. pass over in silence, for the good encouragement and example of
1555. others.

Burned at Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the
Lewes. people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the sign of the Star, the people drew near unto him, where the sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his answers. And as he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Carver's Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had stript
book com- himself (as a joyful member of God), he went into the barrel him-
manded self. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the book, and
in the threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded, in the
queen's king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again.
name to And immediately, that faithful member spake with a joyful voice,
be thrown saying :
again into
the fire.

His exhortation "Dear brethren and sisters, witness to you all, that I am come to seal with
to the my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true. It is unknown unto
people. all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes and in all places of England, and now it is not. And for because that I will not deny here God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation; and, except the great mercy of God, you shall burn in hell perpetually."

Horrible Immediately the sheriff spake unto him, and said, "If thou dost
provoking not believe on the pope, thou art damned body and soul."¹ And fur-
of God's ther the sheriff said unto him, "Speak to thy God, that he may
judg- deliver thee now; or else to strike me down, to the example of this
ment. people." But this faithful member said, "The Lord forgive you your sayings."

And then spake he again to all the people there present, with a loud voice, saying,

"Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you, for the Lord's sake to forgive me; and I heartily forgive all you which have offended me in thought, word, or deed."

And he said further in his prayer as followeth.

Dirick's Prayer at his Death.

"O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy cross and follow thee, is not worthy of thee. But thou Lord knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit; and my soul doth rejoice in thee."

These were the last words of that faithful member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him he cried, "O Lord, have mercy upon me;" and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus, and so ended.

(1) Where find you that in the Creed, to believe on the pope.

Thomas Iveson, or Everson,*Mary.**A. D.**1555.*

APPREHENDED WITH DIRICK AND OTHERS, AND SUFFERED AT
CHICHESTER.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one Thomas Iveson, of Godstone, in the county of Surrey, carpenter; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation (forasmuch as it was at one time, and in one form with Dirick Carver, and John Launder), I do here omit, referring the reader to their history and process before-mentioned; saving only this his several confession and private answers made before bishop Bonner at his last examination in the consistory, I thought not to pretermitt, who, being examined upon the foresaid articles, answered as followeth.

*See
Appendix.*

The Answers of Thomas Iveson, to the Objections of Bishop Bonner of London, in a Chamber at his House, in the month of July.

First, That he believed, that there is but one catholic, universal, and whole church of Christ through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessary articles of christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of the belief, religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

3. Item, That that faith, religion, and administration of sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our church of England, is not agreeing with the truth and faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the said catholic and universal church of Christ.

4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, he believeth, that it is a very idol, and detestable before God, as it is now ministered.

5. Item, That the mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ; but that it is of man's invention. And being demanded whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

6. Item, That he had not received the sacrament of the altar, since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor hath he heard mass by the same space.

7. That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.

8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and none otherwise; and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's blood.

*He mean-
eth not by
the mere
virtue of
the ele-
ment.*

9. Item, That there be in the catholic church of Christ only two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more; which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

*Two sac-
raments.*

10. Item, He believeth, that all the ceremonies now used in the church of England, are vain, superfluous, superstitious, and naught.

*Against
ceremo-
nies.*

Furthermore, the said Iveson being earnestly travailed withal to recant, said in this wise, "I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London. I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same: and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer thus made, he was condemned as a heretic, and with the same persons was committed to

*Iveson
condem-
ed.*

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

the secular power (as they term it), and at the place abovementioned was burned; persevering still in his constant faith unto the end.

John Aleworth.

Aleworth
dieth in
prison.

In the latter end of this month of July, John Aleworth died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel: whom, although the catholic prelates (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of their catholic burial, yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

James Abbes, a Martyr of blessed Memory,

SUFFERING FOR THE TRUE CAUSE OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

Abbes re-
lenteth.

Among many that travailed in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, who through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton; who, examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James did yield and relented to their naughty persuasions; although his conscience consented not thereto.

A notable
example
of sting
of consci-
ence.
Abbes
throweth
to the
bishop his
money
again.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the bishop, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either forty-pence or twenty-pence, whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their beastly illusions: in which combat with himself (being piteously vexed), he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his said money, which he had received at his hand, and said, it repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his money.

Abbes
made
strong by
his infir-
mity.

Now this being done, the bishop with his chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Peter before, through infirmity, but stood manfully in his master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Bury, the 2d day of August, A.D. 1555.

A Discourse of the Apprehension, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley, Gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Pathingham,

See
Appendix.

MARTYRED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, who, though they were not spiritual men, yet thought to help forward,

for their parts, and, as one would say, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not: amongst which one was Edmund Tyrrel, esq., and at that time a justice of peace within the county of Essex, an assister (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of God's saints, who, as he came from the burning and death of certain godly martyrs, met with master John Denley, gentleman, and one John Newman (both of Maidstone in Kent), travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly friends as then they had in the county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, as he yet braggeth, first upon suspicion apprehended, and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners, directing also unto one of the same commissioners, these his favourable letters in their behalf. The copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

*Mary.**A.D.*
1555.*See*
Appendix.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrrel's Letter to one of the Queen's Commissioners.¹

Sir, with most hearty commendations unto you, these shall be to advertise you, that I have received a letter from sir Nicholas Hare and you, and others of the king and queen's majesty's commissioners, by a servant of the king and queen, called John Failes, for certain business about St. Osith's, the which I could not immediately go about, for that I had received a letter from the council, to assist the sheriff for the execution of the heretics, the one at Raileigh, and the other at Rochford, the which was done on Tuesday last.

And as I came homeward, I met with two men: even as I saw them I suspected them, and then I did examine them, and search them; and I did find about them certain letters which I have sent you, and also a certain writing in paper, what their faith was. And they confessed to me, that they had forsaken and fled out of their country for religion's sake; and, since, they have been in many countries, by their confession, which I have sent you: for the which I thought it good (for that they came from London, and that there might be more had of them than I yet have understood) to send them to you, whereby you, and others of the king and queen's commissioners there, might try them so that their lewdness might be thoroughly known; for I think these have caused many to trouble their consciences. So this hath been some let to me, wherefore I could not go about those matters expressed in your letters; but, to-morrow at noon, I intend by God's grace to accomplish your letters, with as much diligence as I may. And thus the Holy Trinity have you ever in his keeping. I beseech you to be so good, master, to discharge these poor men that bring these prisoners up, as soon as may be. And thus most heartily farewell.—From Ramsdon Park, the 12th of June, 1555.

Denley
and New
man by
the way,
met and
apprehended
by Ed-
mund
Tyrrel.

By your assured to command,

Edmund Tyrrel.

Forsomuch as in this letter mention is made of a certain writing in paper, found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof here ensueth.

Certain Notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures, by John Denley, Gentleman, with a Confession of his Faith touching the Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood, found about him ready written, at his Apprehension.

Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.

The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the papists concerning the sacrament is, that the papists say, that Christ is corporally under or in the

(1) Whom I guess to be sir Richard Southwell.

Mary. forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

A. D.
1555.

Figura-
tively,
spiritual-
ly, really.

For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

My belief in the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.

How
bread re-
present-
eth the
body of
Christ.

As concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament, and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ: not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plenteously shed, for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you." In faith I come unto him, and I am refreshed, so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

The
fruit of
Christ's
death.

How
Christ is
received
spiritual-
ly, in the
sacra-
ment.

I do understand, spiritually, that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man, through faith, eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting; and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, monisheth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

And thus we there have Christ present: in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

The gross
error of
the pa-
pists in
the real
being of
Christ in
the sacra-
ment.

Christ's body and blood are not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the papists have said, and as some yet do say, as ye read in these Scriptures following: first, read in Matt. ix., Luke v., Matt. xxiv. and xxvi., Mark xvi., Luke xxiv., John xiii., Luke xxiii., in the end, John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii., Acts i. iii. vii. ix., Rom. viii., Psalm viii., 1 Cor. x. xi.; Exod. xii., Col. i., Ephes. i. iv., Phil. i. ii., 1 Thes. i. iv., Heb. i. v. viii. ix. x. xii., 1 Pet. iii., Psalm xi. xlvii. ciii. x.

Christ's material body is not in all places, as these Scriptures do testify hereafter.

First, read St. Matthew the last, Mark the last, Luke the last, John xi. xx. xxi. These places of the Scripture do plainly declare, that his body, that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament; nor in all places, as the papists have affirmed, and yet do affirm.

Idolatry
to the
creatures
of bread
and wine.

Therefore, whoever they be that do worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God, as these Scriptures hereafter do testify; first in Exod. xx. xxii. xxiii. xxiv., Lev. xix., Deut. iv. vi. xxxii., Psalm lxxx., Isa. xlv., Mal. ii., Matt. iv., Luke iv., Acts xiv., Rev. xiv., Psalm xcvi., 1 Cor. viii., Ephes. iv., 1 Tim. ii., 1 John v., Rev. xix. xxii.

John Denley.

*A² Letter sent by the said John Denley unto John Simson and Ardley, with others, imprisoned for the true profession of Christ.

Brethren all, who are in bonds for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I wish you health in Christ, and all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in pureness of

(1) Isaiah lv. Matt. xi. etc.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 1246.—Ed.

mind unfeignedly, increase of grace, that ye may abide steadfast in all good works unto the end. Brethren, I greatly rejoyce in your confidence, in steadfast faith that ye have in the blood of Jesus Christ. God is highly to be magnified and praised, I hope, in you, that he hath so wrought his mighty power, that ye are able to give your lives for his truth's sake, and for your brethren, that his great power might be known in you, as it is in them who already (God be praised) have given their lives for his truth; who are now in rest, and clothed with the white garment that St. John speaketh of in the Revelation, and lie under the altar saying: "How long tarriest thou, Lord, holy and true, to judge and to avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?" Remember that Christ hath promised, to them that continue to the end, everlasting life. Remember Moses in the Hebrews,¹ who when he was great, refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and chose rather to suffer adversity with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; and esteemed the rebuke of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt; for he had a respect unto the reward." Death is a vantage: when it cometh, it bringeth rest, and the battle is ended. "The Lord that hath begun this good work in you, finish it to the end." Friends pray for me, as I hope I pray for you; that God of his goodness may finish the good work that he hath begun in me, that I may take up his cross and follow him to the end. So be it.

By me,

John Denley.*

Mary.

*A. D.
1555.*

Now to return to the commissioners again: they, receiving these prisoners afore-mentioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion: which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare; for the 28th of June then next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Pathingham, to be brought into his chamber, within his house or palace, there examining them upon their confessions (which Tyrrel had found about them), objecting also unto them certain other articles of his own. To the which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others; and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Pathingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

Denley and his fellow prisoners sent to Bonner.

Denley, Newman, and Pathingham, had in examination before him. See Appendix.

This done, the bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions, to the which master Denley said, "God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heresy, I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the 5th of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these articles were objected against them.

The words of Denley to bishop Bonner.

The Articles objected by Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, against John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Pachingham, jointly and severally the 28th of June, 1555.

First, That the said N. now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

2. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that there is any catholic church of Christ here in earth.

Slander of untruth.

3. That the said N. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the said catholic church.

Catholic church.

4. That the said N. hath believed, and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught, and full of idolatry and evil, and plain

Mass.

Mary. against God's word; and therefore he (the said N.) hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

A. D. 1555. 5. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession, used now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Auricular confession.

Popish absolution.

Matins, evensong, anointing, with other rites of the pope's church. Two sacraments.

6. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution, given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but contrary to the same.

7. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it: likewise confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and evensong, anointing or anointing of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

8. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's catholic church; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the altar.

9. That the said N. hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

10. That thou, Patrick Pachingham, now being of the age of twenty-one at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said twenty-third day of June, the year of our Lord 1555, didst unreverently stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the mass while; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

The Answer of John Denley and the rest, to the Articles objected.

To the 1st article I answer, it is very true.

To the 2d article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy catholic church which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head, which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth preach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the two sacraments; that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

The true catholic church not denied.

A notice of the true church.

Why the church of England is no member of it.

To the 3d article I answer, that I do believe, that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid catholic church, but is the church of antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof: for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies: for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray,² and also it appeareth by St. Paul,³ for he saith, that "he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men for their edifying, for their exhortation, and for their comfort; he that speaketh with the tongue, profiteth himself; he that prophesieth, edifieth the congregation." Also he saith, "Even so likewise when ye speak with tongues, except ye speak words that have signification, how shall it be understood what is spoken? for ye shall but speak in the air;"⁴ that is as much to say, in vain. Also he saith, "Thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than ye all: yet I had rather in the congregation to speak five words with understanding, to the information of others, than ten thousand words with the tongue." Also he saith, "Let all things be done to edification." Also it is written in the Psalms, "For God is King of all the earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding,"⁵ etc. So it doth appear, that this church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words be true, and also the Psalms: therefore this church is not builded upon the prophets, apostles, nor Christ, as I have declared before.

The pope's service in a tongue which edifieth not the people.

The mass idolatrous.

To this 4th article I answer, and I do believe (as I have aforesaid) that the mass, now used in this realm of England, is naught, and abominable idolatry and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ, in his holy Supper, insti-

(1) This article was only objected against Patrick Pachingham.

(2) Matt. vi.

(3) 1 Cor. xiv.

(4) 1 Cor. xiv.

(5) Psalm xlvii.

tuted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them : for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath : thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." So it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine, for it is plain idolatry ; for he saith, "no similitude : " therefore, "thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making curtesy, with other like superstition ? You would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping. Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the bread and the wine, but Christ's body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie ; for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are : for he saith, "But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from henceforth tarrieth till his foes be made his footstool."¹

Also he saith, "For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hands, which are similitudes of true things, but is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us,"² etc. Also, "But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ,"³ etc. "For they themselves shew of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye returned to God from images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus which delivered us from the wrath to come,"⁴ etc. Also, "I went out from the Father, and came into the world. Again, I leave the world, and go to the Father,"⁵ etc. "Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee."⁶ And these places of the Scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine ; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, etc.

To this 5th article I answer, that I do believe as I have afore said, that auricular confession is not good, as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof, for our Saviour Christ saith, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are laden : I will ease you,"⁷ etc. The riotous son saith, "I will arise and go to my Father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee, and I am no more worthy to be called thy Son,"⁸ etc. "I said I will knowledge mine offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord, and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sin,"⁹ etc. "But I will reprove mine own ways in his sight : he shall make me whole, and there may no hypocrite come before him."¹⁰ The son of Sirach saith, "Who can be cleansed of the unclean ?"¹¹ And there was but one of the ten lepers that was cleansed, that came to Christ to give him thanks : he asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour : and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation ; and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as a heathen person, not for a day, or forty days, but unto such time as I do openly, in the congregation, acknowledge my fault. Then the minister hath power, by the word, to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xiii.) and Matthew (chap. xviii.) Other confession I know none.

To this 6th article, I (the said John Denley) have answered in the fifth.

To the 7th article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, which is the christening of children, it is altered and changed ; for St. John Baptist used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him,—and others, also, which came to

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The mass
against
God's
com-
mand-
ment.

Objection
of the pa-
pists re-
moved.

Scripture
proving
Christ not
to be
bodily in
the sacra-
ment.

Against
auricular
confes-
sion.

Remis-
sion of
sins to be
sought
only at
the hands
of Christ.

(1) Heb. x.

(2) Heb. ix.

(3) Phil. iii.

(4) 1 Thess. l.

(5) John xvi.

(6) John xvii.

(7) Matt. xi.

(8) Luke x.

(9) Psal. xxxi.

(10) Job xiii.

(11) Chap. xxxiv.

Mary. John to be baptized, as it appeareth in Matt. iii., Mark i., and Luke iii.; and in Acts viii., the chamberlain said, "See here is water: what letteth me to be baptized?" It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said 1555. "Here is water." We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor yet crysom, nor salt, for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for them as for water—and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore.¹ Also, "Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water that these should not be baptized?"² etc. "And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house. And he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their wounds; and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway;"³ where ye see nothing but preaching the word and the water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

The rainbow as good a sacrament as some of the popish sacraments.

To the 8th article I answer shortly, that there be sacraments no more but two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ,—except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed unto it.

To the 9th article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already, for it was found about me when I was taken; and also ye know my mind in the 4th article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, etc.

By me,

John Denley.

See Appendix.

The 1st day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the consistory in Paul's church, where he proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers; and then, tempting them, sometimes with fair promises, otherwhiles with threatenings, which were always his chiefest arguments and reasons to persuade withal. In the end, seeing their unmovable constancy, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them unto the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for master Denley, Uxbridge; where the 8th day of August, he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sung in it a psalm.

Ungentle dealing of Story against Denley.

Then cruel Dr. Story, being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him, whereupon, being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his singing, and clapt both his hands on his face. "Truly," quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, "thou hast marred a good old song."

The said John Denley, being yet still in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at the last his spirit into the hands of God, through his Son Jesus Christ.

The martyrdom of Patrick Pachingham.

After the martyrdom of master Denley, at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Pachingham at the same town of Uxbridge, about the 28th of the said month. This Pachingham was charged of Bonner (as ye heard in the 10th article before) for his behaviour showed in the bishop's chapel, who, at the mass time there standing, would not put off his cap, which was taken for a leinous offence. The said Pachingham also, being much

(1) See Vol. VI. page 381.—ED.

(2) Acts x.

(3) Acts xvi.

laboured by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, that the church which he believed was no catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, etc.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Furthermore, as touching the other, which was John Newman, Martyrdom of Newman at Saffron Walden pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the county of Essex, whose examination and confession of his faith and belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

The Story of John Newman, Martyr.

*See
Appendix.*

John Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thornton, suffragan, and others, at Tenderden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with master Denley and Pachingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But, because his examination and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first, what his answer was by writing to the said suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow :

It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of king Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation nor corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived, but, if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it : and, if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine, as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and no other ; and by their diligent setting-forth of it by the king's commandment, and the whole consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion nor violence ; because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

The copy of Newman's words in writing to Thornton.

THE EXAMINATION AND ANSWERS OF JOHN NEWMAN, MARTYR, BEFORE DR. THORNTON, AND OTHERS.

First, one of the doctors, or one of the bench (either the archdeacon or Faucet, or some other, whose name John Newman doth not express), beginneth, asking in this wise.

Doctor :—"How say you to this : 'This is my body which is given for you?'"

Newman :—"It is a figurative speech ; one thing spoken, and another meant ;

Mary. as Christ saith, 'I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone,' etc. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door?"

A.D. 1555. *Doctor* :—"This is no figurative speech. For he saith, 'This is my body which is given for you;' and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door; but that is a figurative speech."

This cup is the New Testament, is a figurative speech.

Newman :—"Christ saith, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood.' If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup."

Doctor :—"Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves. We say to our friend, 'Drink a cup of drink,' and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup."

Newman :—"Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other."

Doctor :—"Nay, it is a common use of speech, to say, 'Drink a cup of ale or beer;' and therefore it is no figurative speech."

What is a figurative speech.

Newman :—"The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is; but wheresoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech."

Doctor :—"Well, we will not stand hereabout. How say ye by the real presence? Is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary?"

Newman :—"No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the body doth."

Doctor :—"Why, how then doth it feed?"

Newman :—"I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ."

Collins reasoneth with Newman.

Collins :—"Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body: therefore the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together."

Whether Judas received the body of Christ, or no?

Newman :—"I grant it to be true; but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish: therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper?"

Collins :—"Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ; but it was to his damnation."

Newman :—"Why, was the devil entered into him before? Then he had both the devil and Christ in him at one time."

Collins :—"Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward."

Newman :—"Yea, and before too. What do ye think? Had he but one devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end."

Collins :—"Well, put case it be so: what say you to that?"

Newman :—"Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?"

Collins :—"We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ."

Newman :—"Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil."

Thornton reasoneth with Newman.

Thornton :—"Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell? and ye will grant that the devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him."

Newman :—"Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body."

Thornton :—"Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, he is in hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?"

Newman :—"Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places."

Thornton :—"No? do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things?"

Newman :—"I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do."

Thornton :—"Nay, but if he be omnipotent,¹ he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do."

(1) The omnipotency of Christ doth not prove him to be really in the sacrament.

Newman :—"I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will ; but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled." *Mary.*
A. D.
1555.

Thornton :—"What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile virginity; we speak but of things that God doth."

Newman :—"Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?"

Thornton :—"Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him."

Newman :—"I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God ; for it is in all places, as here and in every place : and yet ye will say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity, and so ye will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed." Absurdity
in the
pope's
doctrine.

Thornton :—"Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is ; but, if it please him, he may be in all places with the Deity."

Newman :—"I promise you, that it seemeth to me as great a heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very man ; and that were against all the Scriptures." The hu-
manity of
Christ
may not
be in all
places

Thornton :—"Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother not opening the matrix. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone?"

Newman :—"I do believe that Christ rose from death ; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the Scripture so say."

Thornton :—"Lo! how say you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other." 1

Newman :—"The Scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angels of God came down, and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men."

Thornton :—"Ah! fool, fool; that was because the woman should see that was risen again from death."

Newman :—"Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too."

Thornton :—"Well, let us not stand any longer about this : back again to the real presence. How say ye, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no?"

Newman :—"I have answered you already."

Thornton :—"Well, do ye not believe that he is there really?"

Newman :—"No, I believe it not."

Thornton :—"Well, will ye stand to it?"

Newman :—"I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth."

Thornton :—"Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion."

Newman :—"Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion (God I take to witness), but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures : and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my conscience ; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man ; for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man else : therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God ; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it."

Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away ; but as I do understand, these are the chiefest : as for taunts, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength.

The Arguments of John Newman.

If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body.

The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ.

Ergo, The body of Christ is not really in the sacrament.

Argu-
ment in
the se-
cond
figure.

(1) Note the gross ignorance of this suffragan.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

- Ca-* They which eat the flesh, and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.
- mes-* The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.
- tres.* Ergo, The wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood of Christ.

Argument.

- Ca-* They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit: "He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit."¹
- mes-* The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.
- tres.* Ergo, They have not Christ's body dwelling in them.

*Argument.*Argu-
ment in
the third
figure.

- Da-* Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.
- ti-* Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, "Do this in remembrance of me," etc.
- si.* Ergo, Christ's body there, is imported to be absent.

Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them.

And thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

The Faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent, who was by occupation a Pewterer.

"The Lord is the protector of my life."² "The just shall live by faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him."³

My faith is, that there is one God, which is without beginning, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible.⁴ And after that he had made both heaven and earth, with all other creatures, he made man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden. He gave to Adam his commandments and precepts, and said, "Whosoever thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die the death." Yet did man, for all this, disobey God his Creator, and after his sin, he fled from God, hid himself, and was in a miserable desperate case. But God, seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should not continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's seed should break the serpent's head;⁵ whereby is meant, that the Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the servant of righteousness, through the faith which he had in the promise of the woman's seed: so did Abel, Seth, Enoch, and Noah, with faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's time. As St. Paul saith, "They did eat all of one spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink:" they did drink of that spiritual rock⁶ that followed them, which rock was Christ that saveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of woman, that is, he took flesh of the virgin Mary, and became man; not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely feign, but a very natural man in all points, sin only excepted,⁷ which God and man is Christ, the promised woman's seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of thirty years and more; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us the mystery of our redemption, that we, through faith, should eat his body, and drink his blood, that we might feed on him through faith, to the end of the world.⁸ After this, Christ offered up his body on the cross⁹ to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the devil, in the which we were, through sin original and actual. And with

(1) John xv.

(6) 1 Cor. x.

(2) Habak. ii.

(7) Gal. iv.

(3) Heb. x.

(8) Luke xxii

(4) Gen. i. ii.

(9) 1 Cor. xi.

(5) Gen. iii.

that one sacrifice of his body once offered on the cross, he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified.¹ He descended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his disciples for the space of forty days after he rose from death.² Then, in the sight of all his disciples, he ascended into heaven: and as his disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into heaven, two men stood by them in white apparel, which also said, "Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into heaven."³ St. Peter also saith, that the heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his prophets since the world began, be restored again; which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

I do believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is a holy church, which is the company of the faithful and elect people of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which holy church or congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places⁴ whereof Christ warneth us; but, as St. Paul saith, in heaven, where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. They set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth;⁵ for they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, which is their life, shall show himself, then shall they also appear with him in glory.

I believe that there is a communion of saints, even the fellowship of the faithful people which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind. They follow Christ their head; they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ; which church or congregation hath forgiveness of sins through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory: for as Christ, being their head, hath entered pure and clean, so they, entering by him, shall be like him in glory.

And I am certain and sure that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead; at whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings. He shall separate the good from the bad; he shall say to them which are his elect, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning;" but to the others that have always resisted his will, he shall say, "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, which is prepared for the devil and his angels."

Thus have I briefly declared my faith, which were no faith at all, if I were in doubt of it. This faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts!

And thus have ye the martyrdom with the confession of the blessed man, and witness of the Lord's truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Richard Hook, at Chichester.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and for the same matter, gave his life at Chichester.

**The Examinations, Answers, and Condemnation of Six Martyrs,
in Kent, viz. William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence,
Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere,**

**BEFORE THE BISHOP OF DOVER, AND HARPSFIELD ARCHDEACON
OF CANTERBURY.**

Mention was made a little before in the story of master Bland and Nicholas Sheterden, of certain other Kentish-men, who being, the

(1) Heb. x.

(2) Acts i.

(3) Acts iii.

(4) Matt. xxiv.

(5) Colos. iii.

Mary. same time with them, called forth and examined by Thornton bishop of Dover, Nicholas Harpsfield, Richard Faucet, and Robert Collins; *A. D.* yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of *1555.* them were deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August (coming therefore now to the time of their suffering), we will briefly touch some part of their examinations and answers as we find them in the registers. The names of these were William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Laurence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and William Stere. What the articles objected to master Bland and them were, ye heard before. To the which articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.

Coker
condemn-
ed.

First William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

Hopper
condemn-
ed.

William Hopper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the catholic church. After calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16th of July.

The words
of Lau-
rence.

Henry Laurence examined the said 16th of July, and partly deferred to the 2d of August, answered to the articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament, "because," saith he, "the order of the holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament."¹

Putting
off his cap
at the
mention
of the sa-
crament.

Moreover, the said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap, when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Laurence answering in these words, "What!" said he, "ye shall not need to put off your cap; for it is not so holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto."

*See
Appendix.*
Christ
gave his
body, as
he said he
was a
door.

Further, being apposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed, that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a door, etc.: adding, moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion; and contrary he knoweth not. At last, being required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, "Ye are all of Antichrist, and him ye fol." And here his hand was stayed to write any further: belike he would have written out "follow," etc. And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the 2d of August.

The sub-
scription
of Lau-
rence.

The words
of Colliar.

Richard Colliar above mentioned, having the 16th of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe, that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine;² and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked, to believe otherwise, etc. Upon this the sentence was read against him,

(1) Ex registro.

(2) Only in the substance he meaneth

and he condemned the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm : wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the 16th of August, appearing, and required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

Wright
ashamed
to speak
of the sa-
crament
of the
altar.

William Stere of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said 16th day of August, where he, in the said chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dogs, and not him : and further declared, that Dick of Dover¹ had no authority to sit against him in judgment, and asked where his authority was. Who then showed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Stere denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alleging that the archbishop of Canterbury² (who then was in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to show his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scripture ; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And moreover the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge that he was a bloody man, etc.) the sentence was pronounced against him ; after which sentence being read, he said that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, etc.

Sentence
against
Stere.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witness-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and the archdeacon of Canterbury, master Collins and master Faucet, were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes and one fire, about the latter end of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of John Rogers ; for the papists, in all their condemnations, follow one manner of sentence of course, commonly, against all that be condemned through their unmerciful tyranny.

The Persecution of Ten Martyrs together, sent by certain of the Council to Bonner to be examined.

After the burning of these six above named, next followeth the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord, not such saints as the pope maketh, or which are mentioned in "Legenda Sanctorum," or in "Vitis Patrum," or in the fabulous book "De Vita Sanctorum Wallensium," etc. ; but such as are spoken of in the

(1) "Dick of Dover," so they termed then Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover.

(2) He meaneth Dr. Cranmer imprisoned at Oxford.

Mary. holy Apocalypse, of whom it is written, "These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their stoles in the blood of the Lamb,"¹ etc. Thus these saints be not of the pope's making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the pope's making; of the pope's making (I say) in this respect, not that the saints of God are made by the pope, but that the saints of God are tried and declared by the pope: so, as by afflictions of Satan, Job's patience was proved; by Pharaoh, God's power declared; and by Salinator, Tarentum was won (as Tully writeth²); for except he had lost it before, Quintus Fabius could not have recovered it: so, in like manner, unless by antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true martyrs of Christ. The names of these ten martyrs, sent by the commissioners, were, Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, William Hale, Thomas Leyes, George King, John Wade, and Joan Lashford.

Saints of
the pope's
making.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners, thinking to make ready dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named, to be sent with their letter directed to Bonner bishop of London, by him to be examined, and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter sent by the Commissioners to Bishop Bonner.

After our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes of Thorpe in Essex; Thomas Fust, hosier; Robert Smith, painter; Stephen Harwood, brewer; George Tankerfield, cook; Elizabeth Warne, Joan Lashford of London, sacramentaries; all which we desire your lordship to examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hand. And thus most heartily fare your lordship well.—From London this 2d of July.

Your lordship's loving friends,

Nich. Hare, Rich. Rede.
Will. Roper. Will. Cooke.

The History of Elizabeth Warne, Widow;

BURNT AT STRATFORD BOW.

Now severally to prosecute the stories of these ten martyrs afore-named, first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, who in this month of August was burnt at Stratford Bow, nigh unto London, widow, late the wife of John Warne upholsterer, and martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in his story is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow-churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter (as is also above specified), where she lay as prisoner until the 11th day of June; at

(1) "Hi sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quocunque jerit quique lavarunt stolas," etc. Rev. xxii.
(2) "Tarentum verò quā vigilantia quo consilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente, Salinatori, qui amisso oppido iugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti. Meā operā Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti;" etc. M. T. Cicero, Cato Major seu De Senectute ad T. P. Atticum; § 4.—Ed.

which time she was brought into Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the 2d day of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner bishop of London, who, the 6th day of the same month, caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, etc.) to be brought before him into his palace; and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministered unto the poor saints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

Martyr.
A. D.
1555.
Warne
brought
to exami-
nation.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chiefest ground and profitablest foundation for their catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will; for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer, she was, the 12th day of the same month of July, adjudged and condemned as a heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the clergy's appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned.

The chief procurer of this her death was Dr. Story, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her (the said Elizabeth), or else to her late husband: who, though he was, at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman, a very earnest suitor for her deliverance to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissioners in matters of religion (himself being as yet not made commissioner), and had by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story, obtaining now the room of one of the commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout Catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred, nor any other consideration, could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Lord, if it be his will, turn his heart, or else rid his poor church from such a hydra, as, thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

A story
of Dr.
Story,
written
upon the
report of
Martin's
own
words.

Story
persecut-
eth his
kinsfolks.

See
Appendix.

George Tankerfield, a faithful Martyr and Witness of the Gospel,

CONSTANTLY SUFFERING FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE SAME.

George Tankerfield of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of twenty-seven or twenty-eight years, was in king Edward's days a very papist, till the time queen Mary came in; and

Mary. then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the pope's side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case, at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God, or not: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which, according to his prayer, the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same. And so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry; and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively faith, saith he, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him; and thus he began to be smelled out among them, till at last he was sent for as followeth.

The order and manner how he was apprehended.

A false Judas-part of Beard.

Beard and Ponder, troublers of God's saints.

Articles ordinary.

Auricular confession.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick; and, on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple-fields to see the shooters. In the mean season came Beard home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a banquet at the lord Paget's. The wife, because of his apparel (which was very brave), took him to be some honest gentleman, and with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money: and, lest this gentleman should be annoyed with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to set him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband; who, when he heard it, said, "A banquet, woman! Indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh; but God's will be done." And, when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name; which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, she, like a tall woman, would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword, took a spit, and had run him through, had not the constable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who rescued him; yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, anno 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley knight, and by Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield, thus being brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the other above named, was brought to his examination before Bonner; who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his articles and positions unto him; the copy and tenor of which his ordinary articles ye may read above expressed.

To these articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching auricular confession, and also the sacrament of the popish altar, and likewise of the mass, etc.: First, that he was not confessed to any priest five years past, nor to any other but only to God; and further

denying that he would hereafter be confessed to any priest, for that he found it not in Christ's book, and took it only to be a counsel.

And concerning the sacrament, commonly called, here in England, of the altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said sacrament there is the real body and blood of Christ; because that the body is ascended into heaven, and there doth sit at the right hand of God the Father.

And moreover he said, that the mass now used in the church of England was naught, and full of idolatry and abomination, and against the word of God; affirming also, that there are but two sacraments in the church of Christ, baptism and the supper of the Lord, etc. And to these assertions, he said, he would stand: and so he did to the end.

Mary.

*A. D.
1555.*

The mass
abominable.
Two sac-
raments.

And when at last the bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion (which they called damnable and heretical), he, notwithstanding, resisted all contrary persuasions, answering the bishop again in this form of words, "I will not," said he, "forsake mine opinions, except you, my lord, can repel them by Scriptures; and I care not for your divinity, for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them." And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then used (after his ordinary manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, that the church, whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's catholic church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, "Good people beware of him, and such as he is; for these be the people that deceive you," etc.

The
words of
Tanker-
field to
Bonner.

His words
at his
condem-
nation;
he giveth
the peo-
ple warn-
ing of
Bonner.

These, with other words more, he spake; whereupon the bishop, reading the sentence of his popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

Is con-
demned.

And so this blessed servant of God was had to St. Alban's, and there, with much patience and constancy, ended his life, the 26th day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory.

His
martyr-
dom at St.
Alban's.

Certain Notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer Martyrdom at St. Alban's.

Inprimis, he was brought unto St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, master Edward Brocket esquire, and one Pulter of Hitchen, which was under sheriff.

Item, their inn was the Cross-keys, where there was great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner: among the which multitude some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions: and others, both old women and men, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, insomuch that some of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

Item, there came unto him a certain schoolmaster, which retained unto sir Thomas Pope knight. This man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Alban's, as touching their sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, etc. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the doctors; so again

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, etc. And so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of Malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him. And after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the Evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, "O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word," etc. And when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, when some of his friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, he prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber: he had so, and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his leg to the flame; and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his leg, showing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, "O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needest not?" The spirit said, "Be not afraid, for this is nothing, in respect of fire eternal." The flesh said, "Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing." The spirit said, "The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly friends." The flesh said, "Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer." The spirit said, "This life is nothing unto the life in heaven, which lasteth for ever," etc. And all this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner, not far from the town, whither also resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield all that time was kindly and lovingly entreated of his host; and, considering that his time was short, his saying was, that although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to even-song.

Item, about two of the clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Romeland, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the abbey church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

Item, while the faggots were set about him, there came a priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, "I defy the whore of Babylon; I defy the whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol. Good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him." And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said, "Good brother, be strong in Christ:" this he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, "O sir, I thank you, I am so; I thank God." Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him; the most part did so. And so, embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and, calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain, etc.

After the martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women who did blas-

phemously say, that the devil was so strong with him and all such heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The History and Examinations of Robert Smith,

CONSTANTLY MAINTAINING THE TRUTH OF GOD'S WORD, AND
SUFFERING FOR THE SAME IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST.

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the 5th of November, in the first and second year of the king and queen, by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard, of the queen's side, by the commandment of the council. This Smith first gave himself unto service in the house of sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the art of painting, which, many times, rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one master Turner of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

Robert
Smith
active in
the art of
painting.See
Appendix.

The First Examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner, etc.

About nine o'clock in the morning, I was among the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house; and I, first of all, was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Bonner :—"How long is it ago since the time that ye were confessed to any priest?"

Smith :—"Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to show my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call priests."

Confes-
sion not
needful.

Bonner :—"Thou showest thyself, even at the first chop, to be a rank heretic, which, being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy."

Smith :—"Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet, I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation, as et divina. ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit."

Bonner :—"How long is it ago since ye received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?"

The sacra-
ment of
the altar.

Smith :—"I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal."

Bonner :—"Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?"

Smith :—"I showed you before, it was none of God's ordinances, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet, nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be

Mary.

the body that ye spake of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth."

A. D.
1555.

Then, after many raging words and vain objections, Bonner said there was no remedy but I must be burned.

Bonner's
argu-
ment.

Smith :—"Ye shall do no more unto me, than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good; for your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame."

Then, after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination, "Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shaven, I will tear this paper in pieces." To which I answered, It would be too much to his shame to show it to men of discretion.

Harwood
and
Smith
examined
by the
bishop.

After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my jailor, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined; and then, being again brought up before the said bishop, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these articles following.

See
Appendiz.

Bonner :—"What say you to the catholic church? Do ye not confess there is one in earth?"

Smith :—"Yes verily, I believe that there is one catholic church, or faithful congregation, which, as the Apostle saith, is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone; which church, in all her words and works, maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority; and without, it doth nothing, nor ought to do; of which I am assured I am by grace made a member."

Bonner :—"Ye shall understand, that I am bound, when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation. Now if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?"

Smith :—"It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to congregate in houses and privy places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God:¹ and, seeing they had their matters redressed, being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?"

Bonner :—"Yea, their church was known full well; for St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians,² to have the man punished and excommunicated, that had committed evil with his father's wife; whereby we may well perceive it was a known church, but yours is not known."

Smith :—"Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul; even so is this church of God in England, which ye persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will know their truth and conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season."

Bonner :—"Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul wrote unto them; and so will I put in writing, shall I?"³

Smith :—"I do marvel greatly, my lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me: first, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ: secondly, to say, it is not known: thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop: for if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him."

"Well friend," quoth one of my lord's chaplains,⁴ "you are no innocent, as it appeareth."

Smith :—"By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain."

(1) Where was the visible church amongst the Protestants? Where was the visible church amongst the apostles?

(2) Here he would not answer me to the church of Jewry, but flieth to the church of the Corinthians.

(3) How Bonner layeth snares to catch the innocent.

(4) Harpsfield.

"Well," quoth my lord, laughing; "tell me, how sayest thou of the church?"

Mary.

Smith:—"I told you whereupon the true church is builded, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also *in omnem terram*, as it is written, 'Their sound is gone forth into all lands;' and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more, which also communicate in that holy Spirit."

A. D.
1555.
The church of Christ.

Bonner:—"What call ye catholic, and what call you church?"

Smith:—"Catholic is universal, and church is a congregation knit together in unity."

Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake all one thing: whereof I praised God, and was sent again to a garden, where after a while, as my brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my lord's chaplains,¹ that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were not a prisoner.

Talk between Smith and the bishop's chaplain.

Smith:—"I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my master and yours; but I hope yet the Lord's free man through Christ Jesus."

Doctor:—"I do much desire to talk with you, lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament," with many other sweet words.

To which I answered, "*Sub melle latet venenum*." And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which the doctor answered, "What derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spat in his face?"²

Absurdity granted by the catholics.

Smith:—"If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and we, being his friends, throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then, by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall have a most plenteous salvation."

Then started the doctor away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible, making a comparison between our soul and the body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his disciples, the doors being shut?³

Smith:—"Although it be said, that when he came the doors were shut, yet have I as much to prove, that the doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove he came through the door: for that mighty God that brought the disciples out of prisons, which yet, when search came, were found shut, was able to let Christ in at the door, although it were shut: and yet it maketh not for your purpose; for they saw him, heard him, and felt him; and so can we not say ye do, neither is he in more than in one place at once." At which answer when he had made many scoffings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my lord's hall, where we were baited of my lord's band, almost all the day, until our keeper, seeing their disorder, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my lord went into his synagogue to condemn master Denly and John Newman. Then brought they up my lord mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I, first of all, was called into the chamber, where my lord intended to sup; where my lord mayor, being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was walking on every side: I, standing before them as an out-cast. Which made me remember how Pilate and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt.⁴ But, after my lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not, as was written?

See Appendix.

Smith brought again before the bishop and the lord mayor.

Smith:—"That I have said, I have said; and what I have said, I do mean utterly."

Bonner:—"Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death: yet nevertheless, forso much as they report me to seek blood, and call me 'Bloody Bonner,' whereas God knoweth, I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have

Bonner excuseth himself of bloodiness.

(1) "This was Dr. Dee, a conjuror by report." Edit. 1563, p. 1253, and Edit. 1570.—ED.

(2) Comparison here between the Jews that spat in Christ's face, and papists which let him fall into the draught.

(3) Note this catholic doctrine, which resembleth the body of Christ, to the incomprehensible soul of man. The question is not what Christ is able to do in the sacrament, but what he doth therein.

(4) Joseph is here a type of our heavenly Joseph. Gen. xlv. 23.,

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Bonner
proved
to be
cruel and
bloody.

stayed him from the consistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly; and yet here, before your lordship, I desire him to turn, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your lordship and all this audience."

Smith :—"Why, my lord, do ye put on this fair visor before my lord mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his body? And not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the queen's majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest? And seeing in these saints ye have showed so little mercy, shall it seem to my lord and this audience, that ye will show me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if ye mean as ye say, why then examine ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto? * Let on, go."*

Bonner :—"Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? Is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood,¹ and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?"

Smith :—"I have answered, that it is none of God's order, neither any sacrament, but man's own vain invention;" and showed him the Lord's institution.

The pa-
pists'
dead god,
having
body
without
blood.

But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we knew nothing, bringing out his "*hoc est corpus meum*," to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life; at which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, saying, "I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things showed, that is to say, his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul: and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding."

Even as
the bread
is the
body, so
is the cup
the blood.

Smith :—"Ye falsify the word, and rack it to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the showing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, 'So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me.' And St. Paul saith, 'So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come.' And here is as much reverence given to the one, as to the other. Wherefore if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread."

Smith
com-
manded
into
limbo.

Then up rose my lord, and went to the table, where my lord mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried. At this I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my friends were examined; and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to Newgate again, my lord bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

Another Examination of Robert Smith before the said Bishop, etc.

*See
Appendix.*

Upon Saturday at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined, as followeth :—

Bonner
begin-
neth with
an un-
truth.

Bonner :—"Thou, Robert Smith, etc., sayest that there is no catholic church here on earth."

Smith :—"Ye have heard me both speak the contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same."

Bonner :—"Yea, but I must ask thee this question: how sayest thou?"

The
church.

Smith :—"Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same: but there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven; and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus."

Auricular
confes-
sion is but
a pick-
purse
matter.

Bonner :—"Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be shaven of the priest?"

Smith :—"It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered

(1) By this question it may appear whether the bishop sought blood or no.

yesterday: but if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies; for all is but money matters that ye maintain." *Mary.*
A. D.
1555.

Bonner :—" Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?"

Smith :—" I speak by experience; for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For, first, it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of kings' secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who, being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their souls' health." Inconveniences of auricular confession.

And, for ensample, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acres, and where I was some time a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, who being bound in conscience, through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto master Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him; the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how, by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of master Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house, could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, " By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a dog tied unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water." False practice of a priest under confession.

To which I answered again, saying, " I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly; record of master Hun, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles, and then to be hanged, and said the same Hun to have hanged himself: and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the Scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be snarled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and, bringing him before the people, said the rats had eaten him. Thus, according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions." Example of terrible cruelty showed upon a poor innocent.

Bonner :—" Ah! ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths."

Smith :—" Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification; and this is no lie." Then made he his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again: which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such sums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in master Mordant knight, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my lord, " How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? Believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of," etc. Sir John Mordant knight.

Smith :—" I believe that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church; but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them." Two sacraments.

Bonner :—" Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?"

Smith :—" First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt, and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order." Baptism abused by the catholics.

Bonner :—" By the mass this is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard speak."

Smith :—" Well sworn, my lord; ye keep a good watch."

Bonner :—" Well, master comptroller, ye catch me at my words: but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee."

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

"By my troth, my lord," quoth master Mordant, "I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disalloweth therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no christian man will deny."

Smith :—"That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants."

Bonner :—"I believe (I tell thee) that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned."

Smith :—"Ye shall never be saved by that belief. But I pray you, my lord, show me, are we saved by water, or by Christ?"¹

Bonner :—"By both."

Smith :—"Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life; and it being our servant, and created for us, is our Saviour. This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?"

Bonner :—"Why, how understandest thou the Scriptures? 'Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' And again, 'Suffer,' saith our Saviour, 'these children to come unto me:' and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou letteth them to come unto Christ."

Smith :—"Whereas ye allege St. John, 'Except a man,' etc., and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, 'Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith?' And there concludeth, that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now, if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher, and not a Saviour. And whereas ye say, I let the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words, that ye let them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, 'Suffer them to come unto me,' and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ. For our Saviour saith, 'Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' And so brought I out many other ensamples, to make manifest, that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in ensamples of Scriptures for the same."

Bonner :—"Then thou makest the water of none effect: and then put away water."

Smith :—"It is not," saith St. Peter, "the washing-away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God." And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in Acts viii. that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism, it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen of Candace's servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at nought the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and, to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked."

Mordant :—"By our Lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water, he is damned."

Bonner :—"Yea, and so do I, and all catholic men, good master Mordant."

Smith :—"Well, my lord, such catholic, such salvation."

Bonner :—"Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?"

Smith :—"Ye may call it the sacrament of misorders; for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disfigure yourself as ye do."

Bonner :—"Sayest thou so? Now, by my troth, I will go shave myself, to anger thee withal:" and so sent for his barber, who immediately came. And before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went to answer to these articles.

(1) This was spoken more to confound the opinion of water, than to let children to have water.

The water of baptism a preacher, and not a Saviour.

The element of water in baptism, bringeth not the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost received of some before baptism.

The sacrament of orders.

Bonner shaveth himself in anger of Smith.

Bonner :—"What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?" *Marg.*

Smith :—"I say, they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse." Then went away master Mordant, and my lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour: of whom I also asked this question, 'Where were all you, in the days of king Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?'"

Doctor :—"We were in England."

Smith :—"Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions' faces again, as saith St. John. Ye show yourselves now as full of malice as ye may be; for ye have for every time a vizor; yea, and if another king Edward should arise, ye would then say, 'Down with the pope, for he is Antichrist, and so are all his angels.'"

Then was I all-to reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked me if I disallowed confession? To whom I answered, "Look in mine articles, and they shall show you what I allow."

Doctor :—"Your articles confess, that you allow not auricular confession."

Smith :—"I allow it not, because the Word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it."

Doctor :—"Why, it is written, Thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences."

Smith :—"No more do I, when I confess them to Almighty God."

Doctor :—"Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God; and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them."

Smith :—"Ye have made a good answer: then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him; for I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them." *Against auricular confession.*

Doctor :—"What did they that came to John to be baptized?"

Smith :—"They came and confessed their sins unto Almighty God."

Doctor :—"And not unto John?"

Smith :—"If it were unto John, as ye are not able to prove, yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation."

Doctor :—"Why, John was alone in the wilderness."

Smith :—"Why, and yet the Scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism. Here the Scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant. But as for ear-confession, ye never heard it allowed by the word; for the prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, I will confess my sins unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Toby, Jeremy, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, 'Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee. Knock, ask, seek,' with such like; and this is the word of God. Now bring somewhat of the word, to help yourself withal." *Confessing unto John in the wilderness. was not to him, but before him to God*

Then they raged, and called me dog, and said, I was damned.

Smith :—"Nay, ye are dogs, that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, 'I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men;' for here I have been baited these two days, of my lord and his great bulls of Basan, and in his hall beneath have I been baited of the rest of his band."

With this came my lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?

Smith :—"Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaving."

Bonner :—"How standeth it, master doctors, have ye done any good?"

Doctor :—"No, by my troth, my lord, we can do no good."

Smith :—"Then it is fulfilled which is written, 'How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?'"

Mary. *Bonner* :—" Nay, naughty fellow ; I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ."

A. D. *Smith* :—" Such gentlemen, such Christs ; and as truly as they have that
1555. name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ."

Bonner :—" Well, wilt thou neither hear them, nor me?"

Smith :—" Yes, I am compelled to hear you ; but ye cannot compel me to follow you."

Bonner :—" Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn."

Smith :—" And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not. But, my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you : I perceive you will not, with your doctors, come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace ; for I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass."

Marvel-
lous bold-
ness of
Smith
given
him of
God
against
Christ's
enemies.

Then, after many railing sentences, I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, gentle reader, being compelled by my friends to do it ; that ye may see how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer in his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard."

The last Examination of Robert Smith, with his Condemnation in the Consistory.

The 12th of July I was with my brethren brought into the consistory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants ; to which I answered, as followeth :

Bonner :—" By my faith, my lord mayor, I have showed him as much favour as any man living might do : but I perceive all is lost, both in him and all his company."

At this word, which he coupled with an oath, came I in, and taking him with the manner, said, " My lord, it is written, ' Ye must not swear.' "

Bonner :—" Ah, master comptroller, are ye come ? Lo, my lord mayor, this is master speaker," pointing to my brother Tankerfield, " and this is master comptroller," pointing to me.

And then, beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, " No." To whom I answered : " My lord mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth. For this tale that my lord hath told, is untrue."

Bonner :—" How say you, good master Mordant, spake he not this here, as it is written ? were ye not by?"

Mordant :—" Yes my lord ; that it is : I heard him say it."

Smith :—" How heard ye me say it, and were not present when I spake it ? Should such a man make a lie ? It is manifestly proved that the prophet saith : ' Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again.' "

And so was brought out my jailer for trial thereof, who there openly professed, that neither master Mordant, nor the doctors before mentioned, were present when I spake it. At which master Mordant, with blushing cheeks, said, he heard them read and heard me affirm the same ; which was also not true.

Then proceeded my lord, with the rest of mine articles, demanding of me, if I said not as was written. To which I answered, " No : " and turning to my lord mayor, I said, " I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here, before your presence, answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same ; and if any thing that I have said or will say, be to be proved (as my lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same."

The words
of Smith
to the
lord
mayor.

(1) Sir John Mordant came in after this story was told.

Mayor :—" Why Smith, thou canst not deny, but this thou saidst."

Smith :—" Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to, and diminished from, the same : but what I have spoken, I will never deny."

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Mayor :—" Why, thou spakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar."

Smith :—" I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same ; and if my lord here, or any of his doctors, be able to approve either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error."

Then spake my brother Tankerfield,¹ and defended the probation of those things, which they called heresy : to the which the bishop answered, " By my troth, master speaker, ye shall preach at a stake."

Smith :—" Well sworn, my lord, ye keep a good watch."

Bonner :—" Well, master comptroller, I am no saint."

Bonner
no saint.

Smith :—" No, my lord, nor yet good bishop ; for a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God. And are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?"

Bonner :—" Well, master comptroller, ye are faultless."

Smith :—" My lord mayor,² I require you, in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many of innocents that are wrongfully accused of heresy. And I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands, than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa,³ which, being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, who, being a christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered : if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. ' For a city,' saith our Saviour, ' that is builded on a hill, cannot be hid : ' if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light ; for all that well do, come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light."

Then my lord mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing ; but the bishop told me, I should preach at a stake ; and so the sheriff cried,⁴ with the bishop, Away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none : and at length my friends, requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had sentence ; and then, being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, " My lord, ye fill the people's ears with phantasies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood ; but, if ye were a true bishop, ye should leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God."

Justice
required
in the
bishop's
consisto-
ry, but
could not
be had.

Bonner :—" Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, master speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him, but he hath here with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way ?"

Smith :—" My lord, if your chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his hands, that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good : and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him ; if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon : for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon."

A lawful
request
not heard.

Then began the sentence, " In Dei nomine."⁵ To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name, requiring of him, where he learned in Scriptures to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience' sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, " Away with him." Then I turned me to the mayor, and said, " Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and ye that are the sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless ?"

(1) Here my brother Tankerfield recited the story of my lord bishop's cook.

(2) This mayor was sir John Lion.

(3) Here my brother Tankerfield pulled out of his bosom a Testament, requiring judgment by the same ; but it would not be heard.

(4) This sheriff was master Woodrofe.

(5) The bishop's sentence beginneth with a wrong name. Where find the Catholics in the Scripture to put any to death for their conscience' sake ?

*Mary.**A. D.*
*1555.*Smith
wrong-
fully con-
demned
by the
bishop.The
words of
Smith to
the lord
Mayor.

Bonner :—" Well, master comptroller, now ye cannot say but I have offered you fair, to have instruction. And now I pray thee, call me ' bloody bishop,' and say, I seek thy blood."

Smith :—" Well, my lord, although neither I, nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden."

Bonner :—" Away with him! away with him!"

Woodrofe :—" Away with him! take him away!"

Smith :—" Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as here ye have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent, which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will."—And then was I, with the rest of my brethren, carried away to Newgate.

Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England! requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and spirit of boldness; who hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the 8th of August, by God's grace: pray that it may be to his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you. " Da gloriam Deo."

Robert Smith.

The godly
behavi-
our of
Robert
Smith
and his
fellows in
prison.

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow, in this man, a singular example of christian fortitude, who so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so was he no less comfortable also in the prison among his fellows; which also is to be observed no less in his other prison-fellows, who, being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly conference within themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they, to their great comfort, used in that house together; amongst whom this foresaid Smith was a chief doer: whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to dehort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his religion. Divers letters he wrote there in prison to sundry his friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose. And first in metre as followeth.

"O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil."

The God that giveth life and light, and leadeth into rest,
That breaketh bonds and bringeth out the poor that are oppress,
And keepeth mercy for the meek, his treasure and his store:
Increase thy life in perfect love, both now and evermore.
That as thou hast begun to ground in faith and fervent love,
Thou may'st be made a mighty mount, that never may remove.
That thine ensample may be showed among all thine increase;
That they may live and learn the like, and pass their time in peace.
Thy salutations that were sent, I heartily retain;
And send thee seventy times as much, to thee and thine again.
And now because I know the gold is fined in the fire,
I send thee here a paper full, that thou dost most desire,
In hope thou wilt accept it well, although it be but small,
Because I have none other good, to make amends withal.

For all thy free and friendly facts, which thy good will hath wrought,
 I send thee surely, for a shift, the thing that cost me nought.
 Abstain from all ungodliness, in dread direct your days,
 Possess not sin in any wise, beware of wicked ways.
 Hold fast your faith unfeignedly, build as you have begun,
 And arm yourself in perfect faith, to do as ye have done,
 Lest that the wicked make a mock, that ye have taken in hand,
 In leaving of the perfect rock, to build upon the sand.
 Beware these filthy Pharisees; their building is in blood :
 Eat not with them in any wise ; their heaven is not good.
 Their salt is all unsavoury ; and under good intents
 They maintain all their knavery, and murder innocents.
 They seek to sit in Christ his seat, and put him out of place ;
 And make all means that may be made, his doings to deface.
 They keep him down with bills and bats, that made the blind to see :
 They make a god for mice and rats, and say the same is he.
 They show like sheep, and sweat like wolves, their baits be all for blood :
 They kill and slay the simple souls, and rob them of their good.
 The dark illusions of the devil have dimmed so their eyes,
 That they cannot abide the truth, to stir in any wise.
 And if ye keep the perfect path (as I have hope you do),
 Ye shall be sure to have such shame, as they may put you to.
 For all that lead a godly life, shall surely suffer loss ;
 And eke the world will seek their shame, and make them kiss the cross.
 Ye shall be killed all, saith Christ, your sorrows shall not cease :
 And yet, in your afflictions, I am your perfect peace.
 For in the world ye shall have wo, because ye are unknown ;
 And for because ye hate the world, the world will love his own.
 Be fervent therefore to the death, against all their decrees ;
 And God shall surely fight for thee against thine enemies.
 Commit your cause unto the Lord : revenge not any evil,
 And thou shalt see the wicked want, when thou shalt have thy will.
 For all afflictions that may fall, that they can say or do,
 They are not sure of the wealth, we shall attain unto.
 For I have seen the sinners spread their branches like a bay,
 And yet, ere one could turn his head, were withered clean away.
 Beware that money make ye not in riches to arise
 Against the goodness of the Lord, among the worldly wise.
 For many mischiefs it hath made, that may not be exprest ;
 And many evils it hath begun, which may not be redrest.
 For money maketh many a one, in riches to rebel ;
 And he that maketh gold a god, he hath a soul to sell.
 It maketh kings to kill and slay, and waste their wits in war,
 In leaving of the wolf at home, to hunt the fox afar.
 And where they should see justice done, and set their realm in rest ;
 By money they be made a mean to see the poor opprest.
 It maketh lords obey the laws, that they do ill and naught ;
 It maketh bishops suck the blood, that God hath dearly bought ;
 And where they should be faithful friends, and fathers to their flock,
 By money they do turn about, even like a weathercock.
 The priest doth make a money mean, to have again his whores,
 To put away his wedded wife, and children out of doors.
 It holdeth back the husbandman, which may not be forborne,
 And will not suffer him to sow, and cast abroad his corn.
 In like case it doth let again, when that the seed they sow ;
 It choketh up the corn again, so that it cannot grow.
 The husband he would have a wife, with nobles new and old :
 The wife would have the husband hanged, that she might have his gold.
 It maketh murderers many a one, and beareth much with blood :
 The child would see the parents slain, to seize upon their good.
 And though it be a blessed thing, created in the kind,
 It is a necessary e'il, annexed to the mind.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

For whoso playeth with the pitch, his fingers are defiled;
 And he that maketh gold a god, shall sorely be beguiled.
 Be friendly to the fatherless, and all that are oppress:
 Assist them always out of hand, and see them set at rest.
 In all your doings and your deeds let mercy still remain;
 For with the measure that ye mete, shall ye be mette again.
 Be always lowly in your life, let love enjoy her own:
 The highest trees are seldom sure, and soonest overthrown.
 The lions lack and suffer sore, in hunger and in thirst;
 And they that do oppress the poor, continue still accurst.
 The bee is but a little beast in body or in sight,
 And yet she bringeth more increase, than either crow or kite.
 Therefore beware in any wise, keep well your watch alway:
 Be sure of oil within your lamp, let not your light decay.
 For death despiseth them that lack, and hateth them that have,
 And treadeth down the rich and poor together in the grave.
 Exhort your children to be chaste, rebuke them for their ill,
 And let them not at any wise be wedded to their will.
 Laugh not with them, but keep them low; show them no merry cheer
 Lest thou do weep with them also; but bring them up in fear.
 And let your light and living shine, that ye be not suspect,
 To have the same within yourself, for which they are correct.
 Be meek and modest in a mean: let all your deeds be done,
 That they which are without the law, may see how right ye run.
 Keep well the member in your mouth, your tongue see that ye tame;
 For out of little sparks of fire proceedeth out a flame.
 And as the poison doth express the natures of the toad,
 Even so the tongue doth manifest the heart that feareth God.
 For therewith bless we God above, and therewith curse we men;
 And thereby murders do arise, through women now and then.
 And seeing God hath given a tongue, and put it under power,
 The surest way is for to set a hatch before the door.
 For God hath set you in a seat, of double low degree:
 First unto God, and then to man, a subject for to be.
 I write not that I see in you these things to be suspect;
 But only set before your face, how sin should be correct.
 For flesh and blood I know ye are, as other women be;
 And if ye dwell in flesh and blood, there is infirmity.
 Receive a warning willingly, that to thy teeth is told:
 Account the gift of greater price than if he gave thee gold.
 A wise man, sayeth Solomon, a warning will embrace:
 A fool will sooner (as saith he) be smitten on the face.
 And as your members must be dead from all things that are vain,
 E'en so by baptism ye are born, to live with Christ again.
 Thus farewell, free and faithful friend: the Lord that is above
 Increase in thee a perfect faith, and lead thee in his love.
 And as I pray with perfect love, and pour out bitter tears
 For you and all that are at large abroad among the briers:
 E'en so I pray thee to prefer my person and my bands,
 Unto the everlasting God that hath me in his hands.
 That I may pass out of this pond, wherein I am oppress;
 Inclosed in a clod of clay, that here can have no rest.
 That as he hath begun in me his mercies many one,
 I may attain to overtake my brethren that be gone.
 That when the death shall do his worst where he shall point a place,
 I may be able like a man to look him in the face.
 For though he catch away my cloak, my body into dust,
 Yet sure am I to have a soul, when death hath done his worst.
 And though I leave a little dust dissolved out of blood,
 I shall receive it safe again, when God shall see it good.
 For my redeemer, I am sure, doth live for evermore,
 And sitteth high upon the heavens, for whom I hunger sore:

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

Even as the deer with deadly wounds escaped from the spoil,
 Doth haste by all the means he may, to seek unto the soil.
 Of whom I hope to have a crown, that always shall remain;
 And eke enjoy a perfect peace, for all my woe and pain.
 The God that giveth all increase, and seeketh still to save,
 Abound in thee that perfect peace, which I do hope to have!
 And I beseech the living God to hold thee in his hands;
 And wish thee, e'en with all my heart, the blessing of my bands;
 Which I esteem of higher price than pearl or precious stone,
 And shall endure for evermore, when earthly things are gone.
 For though the fire do consume our treasure and our store,
 Yet shall the goodness of the Lord endure for evermore.
 And where thou art a friend to him that is to me full dear,
 That God of might make thee amends, when all men shall appear,
 That hath showed mercy to the meek, and rid them out of pain:
 And thus the Lord possess thy spirit, till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompense,
 Abide still in obedience.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith unto his Children, commonly set out in the name of Master Rogers.

Give ear my children to my words,¹ whom God hath dearly bought:
 Lay up my law within your heart, and print it in your thought.
 For I your father have foreseen, the frail and filthy way,
 Which flesh and blood would follow fain, even to their own decay.
 For all and every living beast their crib do know full well;²
 But Adam's heirs, above the rest, are ready to rebel.
 And all the creatures on the earth, full well can keep their way,
 But man above all other beasts, is apt to go astray;³
 For earth and ashes is his strength, his glory and his reign,
 And unto ashes, at the length, shall he return again.⁴
 For flesh doth flourish like a flower, and grow up like a grass,
 And is consumed in an hour, as it is brought to pass
 In me the image of your years, your treasure and your trust,
 Whom ye do see before your face, dissolved into dust.
 For, as you see your father's flesh converted into clay,
 Even so shall ye, my children dear, consume and wear away;⁵
 The sun and moon, and eke the stars, that serve the day and night,
 The earth and every earthly thing, shall be consumed quite.⁶
 And all the worship that is wrought that have been heard or seen,
 Shall clean consume and come to nought, as it had never been.
 Therefore, that ye may follow me, your father and your friend,
 And enter into that same life, which never shall have end,⁷
 I leave you here a little book, for you to look upon,
 That you may see your father's face, when I am dead and gone;
 Who, for the hope of heavenly things, while he did here remain,
 Gave over all his golden years, in prison and in pain.⁸
 Where I, among mine iron bands, enclosed in the dark,
 But a few days before my death, did dedicate this work
 To you mine heirs of earthly things which I have left behind,
 That ye may read and understand, and keep it in your mind:
 That as you have been heirs of that which once shall wear away,
 Even so ye may possess the part which never shall decay,
 In following of your father's foot, in truth and eke in love:
 That ye may also be his heirs for evermore above.
 And, in example to your youth, to whom I wish all good,⁹
 I preach you here a perfect faith, and seal it with my blood.
 Have God always before your eyes in all your whole intents:
 Commit not sin in any wise, keep his commandments.¹⁰

(1) Prov. v.

(2) Isa. i.

(3) Wisd. ii.

(4) Gen. iii.

(5) 2 Pet. iii.

(6) Wisd. xiii.

(7) John vii.

(8) 1 Cor. ii.

(9) Tob. ii.

(10) John ix.

*Mary.**A. D.*

1555.

Abhor that arrant whore of Rome, and all her blasphemies;
 And drink not of her decretals, nor yet of her decrees.¹
 Give honour to your mother dear, remember well her pain;
 And recompense her in her age, in like with love again;²
 Be always aiding at her hand, and let her not decay:
 Remember well your father's fall, that should have been her stay.
 Give of your portion to the poor, as riches do arise;³
 And from the needy naked soul turn not away your eyes.
 For he that will not hear the cry of such as are in need,
 Shall cry himself, and not be heard when he would hope to speed.⁴
 If God have given you great increase, and blessed well your store,
 Remember ye are put in trust, to minister the more.⁵
 Beware of foul and filthy lust; let whoredom have no place;
 Keep clean your vessels in the Lord, that he may you embrace.⁶
 Ye are the temples of the Lord, for ye are dearly bought,
 And they that do defile the same, shall surely come to nought.
 Possess not pride in any case, build not your nests too high,
 But have always before your face, that ye be born to die.
 Defraud not him that hired is, your labours to sustain,
 But give him always out of hand, his penny for his pain.
 And as ye would that other men against you should proceed,
 Do ye the same again to them, when they do stand in need.⁷
 And part your portion with the poor, in money and in meat,
 And feed the fainted feeble soul, with that which ye should eat.⁸
 That when your members lacketh meat and clothing to your back,
 Ye may the better think on them, that now do live and lack.
 Ask counsel also at the wise; give ear unto the end;
 Refuse not you the sweet rebuke of him that is your friend.⁹
 Be thankful always to the Lord, with prayer and with praise;
 Desire you him in all your deeds, for to direct your ways;¹⁰
 And sin not like that swinish sort, whose bellies, being fed,
 Consume their years upon the earth from belly unto bed.
 Seek first, I say, the living God;¹¹ set him always before;
 And then be sure that he will bless your basket and your store.¹²
 And thus if you direct your days according to this book,
 Then shall they say, that see your ways, how like me you do look.
 And when you have so perfectly,¹³ upon your fingers' ends,
 Possessed all within your book, then give it to your friends.
 And I beseech the living God, replenish you with grace,
 That I may have you in the heavens, and see you face to face.
 And though the sword have cut me off contrary to my kind,
 That I could not enjoy your love according to my mind,
 Yet do I hope, when that the heavens shall vanish like a scroll,
 I shall receive your perfect shape, in body and in soul;¹⁴
 And that I may enjoy your love, and ye enjoy the land,
 I do beseech the living God to hold you in his hand.
 Farewell my children from the world where ye must yet remain:
 The Lord of Hosts be your defence, till we do meet again.
 Farewell my love, and loving wife, my children and my friends:
 I hope to God to have you all, when all things have their ends.
 And if you do abide in God, as ye have now begun,
 Your course I warrant will be short; ye have not far to run.
 God grant you so to end your years as he shall think it best;
 That ye may enter into heaven, where I do hope to rest.

Written at the Request of a Lady in her Book.

If you will walk the way that Christ hath you assigned,
 Then learn this little verse, which I have left behind.

(1) Rev. xiv.

(5) Luke xii.

(9) Matt. vi.

(13) Tob. ii.

(2) Exod. xxii. Matt. xv.

(6) John ii. 1 Cor. vi.

(10) Matt. vi.

(14) 2 Pet. iii.

(3) Matt. xxv.

(7) Matt. vii.

(11) Prov. iv.

(4) 2 Cor. ix.

(8) Heb. xiii. Deut. iii.

(12) Deut. xxviii

Be fervent in the truth, although it bear the blame ;
 And eke apply your youth, to stick unto the same ;
 That when the age is come, and death begins to call,
 The truth may be your staff to stay you up withal.
 And though it bring rebuke, and cause you kiss the cross,
 Yet is it a reward, to all that suffer loss :
 For here we do lay out the things that be but vain,
 But we are sure to reap the things that do remain.
 For all that ye do lose is but a sinful slime,
 And like unto a rose, that tarrieth but a time.
 But if ye carry Christ, and walk the perfect way,
 Ye shall possess the gold, that never shall decay ;
 And all your father's goods shall be your recompense,
 If ye confess the word with double diligence,
 Not only for to hear his pure and perfect word,
 But also to embrace the fire, and eke the sword.
 And if ye keep this path, and do not run a-crook,
 Then shall ye meet the man that writ this in your book,
 In that eternal joy that always shall remain.
 Thus farewell faithful friend, till we do meet again.

Legem pone.

Teach me, O Lord, to walk thy ways, my living to anend,
 And I shall keep it all my days, even to my life's end.
 Give me a mind to understand, so shall I never start ;
 But I shall keep all thy precepts, even wholly with my heart.
 Make me to go a perfect pace in that I have begun ;
 For all my love and my delight, is in thy ways to run.
 Incline my heart unto thy ways ; set thou thereon my thought,
 And let me not consume my days, to covet that is naught.
 O quicken me in all thy ways, the world for to despise ;
 And from all fond and foolish toys, turn thou away mine eyes.
 O plant in me thy perfect word, which is to me so dear ;
 Lay up thy laws within my heart, to keep me still in fear ;
 And rid me of that great rebuke which I do fear full sore,
 For all thy judgments and thy laws endure for evermore.
 Behold, O Lord, in thy precepts, is all my whole delight :
 O quicken me in all thy ways, that I may walk aright.

To his Brother.

As nature doth me bind, because thou art my blood,
 According to my kind to give thee of my good,
 That thou may'st have in mind how I have run my race,
 Although thou bide behind but for a little space.
 I give thee here a pearl, the price of all my good,
 For which I leave my life, to buy it with my blood ;
 More worth than all the world, or aught that I can note,
 Although it be yclad in such a simple coat.
 For when I had obtained this pearl of such a price,
 Then was I sure I gained the way for to be wise.
 It taught me how to fight, my flesh for to despise,
 To stick unto the light, and for to leave the lies :
 In sending out my seed with bonds and bitter tears,
 That I might reap with joy in everlasting years,
 And have, for all my loss, my travail, and my pain,
 A thousand times and more of better goods again.
 And for because the good that hath been got and gained,
 And that the Lord's elect hath evermore obtained,
 Is closed in this book which I do give to thee,
 Wherein I have my part, as thou thyself may'st see,
 In which I hope thou hast a stock also in store,
 And wilt not cease to fail till God hath made it more—

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

I will thee to beware ; be sure thou keep it well :
 For if thou do it lose, thy part shall be in hell.
 And here I testify before the living God,
 That I detest to do the things that are forebod.
 And as, in judgment, is my body to be brent,
 My heart is surely set therewith to be content.
 And sith it is his will to put in me his power,
 Upon his holy hill to fight against this whore,
 Full well I am content, if he allow it so,
 To stand with all my might the whore to overthrow.
 Even with a willing mind, the death I will outface :
 And as I am assured, the battle do embrace ;
 That they which hear the truth, how I have past the pike,
 May set aside their youth, and learn to do the like.
 And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,
 Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good :
 For she is set to kill the things she thinks accurst,
 And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.
 And when that thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,
 Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.
 And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain,
 Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
 And to my woful wife, and widow desolate,
 Whom I do leave behind, in such a simple state,
 And compassed with tears, and mournings many one ;
 Be thou her staying staff, when I am dead and gone.
 My mouth may not express the dolours of my mind,
 Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.
 But as thou art my bone, my brother and my blood,
 So let her have thy heart, if it may do her good.
 I took her from the world, and made her like the cross ;
 But, if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss :
 For where she had before a man unto her make,
 That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,
 Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand,
 To whom pertain all things that are within the land.
 And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
 To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C :
 That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod,
 To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.
 And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
 That thou art left behind a father in my stead.
 And thou, my brother dear, and eke my mother's son,
 Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done ;
 And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increase,
 That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace,
 Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain :
 Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
 Be mindful of thy brother's blood.

To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to his Gospel, and to persevere in his Truth unto the end : grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.¹

Be not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein, by the sufferance of God, the prince of darkness is

(1) This letter is thought of some to be master Hooper's, partly for that in one copy amongst divers, it is intituled unto him : and also by the phrase and manner of writing, it may be well conjectured so to be. [See Letters of the Martyrs, Lond. 1837, page 418.—Ed.]

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

broken loose, and rageth in his members against the elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the kingdom of antichrist: against whom, see that ye be strong in faith to resist his most devilish doctrine with the pure gospel of God, arming yourselves with patience, to abide whatsoever shall be laid to your charge for the truth's sake; knowing that thereunto ye be called, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him. Oh! how happy are ye, that in the sight of God are counted worthy to suffer for the testimony of Christ. Quiet therefore yourselves, O my loving brethren, and rejoice in him for whom ye suffer: for unto you do remain the unspeakable joys, which neither the eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither the heart of man is able to comprehend in any wise. Be not afraid of the bodily death, for your names are written in the book of life.¹ And the prophets do record, that in the sight of the Lord, precious is the death of his saints.² Watch, therefore, and pray, that ye be not prevented in the day of temptation.³ Now cometh the day of your trial, wherein the waters rage, and the stormy winds blow.⁴ Now shall it appear, whether ye have builded upon the fleeting sand, or upon the unmovable rock Christ, which is the foundation of the apostles and prophets, whereon every house that is builded, groweth into a holy temple of the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost.⁵ Now approacheth the day of your battle, wherein it is required that ye show yourselves the valiant soldiers of Christ Jesus, with the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand fast against all the crafty assaults of the devil. Christ is your Captain, and ye be his soldiers, whose cognisance is the cross, to the which he willingly humbled himself even unto the death, and thereby spoiled his enemies, and now triumpheth he over them in the glory of his Father, making intercession for them that here do remain to suffer the afflictions that are to be fulfilled in his mystical body.⁶ It becometh therefore every one that will be counted his scholar, to take up his own cross, and follow him, as ye have him for ensample:⁷ and I assure you that he being on your side, nothing shall be able to prevail against you. And that he will be with you even to the world's end, ye have his promise in Matt. xxviii. He will go forth with his host as a conqueror to make a conquest. He is the man that sitteth on the white horse, crowned with immortality,⁸ and ye, brethren, are his fellowship, whereof he is the head. He hath your heart in his hand, as a bow bent after his godly will; he shall direct the same according to the riches of his glory, into all spiritual and heavenly cogitations. He is faithful, and will not suffer you to be further assaulted, than he will give you strength to overcome, and in the most danger he will make a way, that ye may be able to bear it.⁹

Shrink not therefore, dear hearts, when ye shall be called to answer for the hope that is in you;¹⁰ for we have the Comforter, even the Spirit of Truth which was sent from the heavens to teach us: he shall speak in us, he shall strengthen us: what is he, then, that shall be able to confound us?¹¹ nay, what tyrant is he that now boasteth himself of his strength to do mischief, whom the Lord shall not, with the same Spirit, by the mouth of his servants, strike down to hell-fire? Yea, suddenly will the Lord bring down the glory of the proud Philistines, by the hands of his servant David. Their strength is in the spear and shield, but our help is in the name of the Lord, which made both heaven and earth. He is our buckler and wall, a strong tower of defence. He is our God, and we are his people. He shall bring the councils of the ungodly to nought.¹² He shall take them in their own net: he shall destroy them in their own inventions. The right hand of the Lord shall work this wonder. His power is known among the children of men.¹³ Their fathers have felt it, and are confounded. In like manner shall they know that there is no counsel against the Lord, when their secrets are opened to the whole world, and are found to be against the living God. Work they never so craftily, build they never so strongly; yet down shall their rabble fall, and the builders themselves shall then be scattered upon the face of the earth, as accursed of God.¹⁴ The just shall see this, and be glad, and praise the name of the Lord, that so marvelously hath dealt with his servants, as to bring their enemies under their feet.¹⁵

(1) Rev. xvii.

(2) Psalm cxv.

(3) (Matt. vii.

(4) Ephes. ii.

(5) 2 Tim. ii. Ephes. vi.

(6) Phil. ii. Heb. xii. Coloss. i.

(7) 1 Pet. i.

(8) Rev. vi.

(9) 1 Cor. i. x.

(10) 1 Pet. iii.

(11) Luke xiii. Acts ii Psalm lii.

(12) 1 Sam. xvii. Psalm vi. 2 Cor. vi. Heb. viii. Psalm xxxii.

(13) Psalm cxvii. lii. lxx.

(14) Gen. xi.

(15) Psalm xxxiii.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Then shall the fearful seed of Cain tremble and quake : then shall the mocking Ishmaelites be cast out of door : then shall the proud Nimrod see his labour lost : then shall the beast of Babylon be trodden under foot : then shall the scribes and Pharisees for madness fret and rage : then shall their painted wisdom be known, for extreme folly : then shall the bloody dragon be void of his prey : then shall the whore of Babylon receive double vengeance : then shall they scratch their crowns for the fall of their mistress harlot, whom they now serve for filthy lucre, when no man will buy their wares any more : then shall the popish priesthood cry weal away with care, even when the Lord shall help his servants ;¹ which day is not far off, the day wherein the kingdom of antichrist shall have an end, and never rise any more. In the mean time, abide in certain and sure hope, cleaving unto the promises of God, which in their own time shall be fulfilled.²

Acquit yourselves like men, against the enemies of God, in all humbleness of mind ; be strong in spirit to acknowledge one God, one holy Saviour Jesus Christ, one only, everlasting, and sufficient sacrifice for the remission of sins, even the precious body of the Lord Jesus once offered for all and for ever ; who now sitteth on the right hand of God, and from thence shall he come to judge both the quick and the dead at the last day ; and until that time occupieth that blessed body none other place to dwell in, to be kept in, to be closed in, but only in the heavens, even in the glorious majesty of God, personally abiding there in the flesh, not coming down from thence till the last hour.³ And as he never ceaseth to be man, so doth he never lose the similitude of man ; his body there hath his lineaments, he leaveth them not ; so hath that body there his highness, and shrinketh not ; and his manly shape he altereth not at any time. He is, in that he took of the Virgin Mary, a natural man in all conditions except sin.⁴

And what he took of his blessed Mother, by the working of the Holy Ghost, he took it for ever, and will not exchange the same for any other. He took the shape of a man with the substance of his manhood, in one sacred womb.⁵ There were they coupled together by the Holy Ghost, never to be divided asunder. He retaineth the one with the other, inseparably. As he will not alter the substance of his flesh into the substance of bread, no more will he alter the shape of his body into the form of bread. There cannot be a greater absurdity against the truth, than to think that he would leave the shape that he took in the Virgin's womb, being an accident unto his manhood, and join unto the same a wafer-cake baked in an oven, or between a pair of irons. As he is in heaven very man, one only mediator between God and man, even the man Christ Jesus, he it is that is the propitiation for our sins.⁶ Be bold therefore to confess this most pure and apostolical doctrine ; and also that all favour, mercy, and forgiveness cometh only by him. He only of God the Father was made for us all wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. All these are the gifts of God the Father, freely given unto us by Christ Jesus, God and man, through faith in his blood, and not by the merits of men ; gifts they are, I say, freely given unto us of favour, without our desert, by believing ; and not by deserving. To this do the law and the prophets bear witness.⁷

This doctrine have all the blessed martyrs of Christ's church witnessed with their blood to be true. To this truth, have all the consciences of all true believers subscribed ever since the ascension of Christ. This witness is not of man, but of God.⁸ What better quarrel can ye then have to give your lives for, than the truth itself ? That man that giveth his life for the truth, taketh the readiest way to life. He that hath the pope's curse for the truth, is sure of Christ's blessing. Well then, my brethren, what shall now let, but that ye go forward as ye have begun ? nay, rather run with the runners, that ye may obtain the appointed glory. Hold on the right way ; look not back ; have the eye of your heart fixed upon God ; and so run, that ye may get hold of it. Cast away all your worldly pelf, and worldly respects, as the favour of friends, the fear of men, sensual affection, respect of persons, honour, praise, shame, rebuke, wealth, poverty, riches, lands, possessions, carnal fathers and mothers, wife and children, with the love of your own selves : and in respect of that

(1) Gen. iv. xxi. xi. Phil. iii. Psalm ii. 1 Cor. iii. Psalm lxxiv. Job v. Rev. xii. xviii. Psalm cxlv.

(2) 1 Cor. vi. ; viii. Heb. ix.

(3) Acts i. Heb. i. 1 Peter iii. Ephes. i. ii.

(4) Rom. viii.

(5) Ephes. ii.

(6) 1 John ii. Colos. i.

(7) 1 Cor. ii. Ephes. ii. Habak. ii. Gal. iii. Acts x.

(8) Luke ix.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

heavenly treasure ye look for, let all these be denied, and utterly refused of you, so that in no condition they do abate your zeal, or quench your love towards God. In this case make no account of them, but rather repute them as vile, in comparison of everlasting life.¹ Away with them as thorns that choke the heavenly seed of the gospel, where they be suffered to grow. They are burdens of the flesh, which encumber the soul. Exchange them therefore for advantage. Doth not he gain that findeth heavenly and immortal treasure, for earthly and corruptible riches? Loseth that man any thing, which of his carnal father and mother is forsaken, when therefore he is received of God the Father to be his child and heir in Christ? Heavenly for earthly, for mortal immortal, for transitory things permanent, is great gains to a Christian conscience.²

Therefore, as I began, I exhort you in the Lord, not to be afraid. Shrink not my brethren,³ mistrust not God, be of good comfort, rejoice in the Lord,⁴ hold fast your faith, and continue to the end. Deny the world, and take up your cross, and follow him which is your loadsman, and is gone before. If you suffer with him, yea you shall reign with him. What way can you glorify the name of your heavenly Father better, than by suffering death for his Son's sake? What a spectacle shall it be to the world, to behold so godly a fellowship as your servants of God, in so just a quarrel as the gospel of Christ is, with so pure a conscience, so strong a faith, and so lively a hope, to offer yourselves to suffer most cruel torments of the hands of God's enemies, and so to end your days in peace, to receive, in the resurrection of the righteous, life everlasting?⁵

Be strong therefore in your battle: the Lord God is on your side, and his truth is your cause;⁶ and against you be none, but the enemies of the cross of Christ, as the serpent and his seed, the dragon with his tail, the marked men of the beast, the offspring of the Pharisees, the congregation malignant, the generation of vipers, murderers, as their father the devil hath been from the beginning.⁷ To conclude, such are they as the Lord God hath always abhorred, and in all ages resisted and overthrown. God, from whom nothing is hid, knoweth what they are. He that searcheth the hearts of men,⁸ he hath found out them to be crafty, subtle, full of poison, proud, disdainful, stiff-necked, devourers, raveners, and barkers against the truth,⁹ filthy and shameless: and therefore doth the Spirit of God, by the mouths of his holy prophets¹⁰ and apostles, call them by the names of foxes, serpents, cockatrices, lions, leopards, bulls, bears, wolves, dogs, swine, beasts; teaching us thereby to understand what their natural inclination is: to deceive, poison, and destroy (as much as in them lieth), the faithful and elect of God. But the Lord with his right arm shall defend his little flock against the whole rabblement of these worldlings, which have conspired against him. He hath numbered all the hairs of his children's heads, so that not one of them shall perish without his Fatherly will. He keepeth the sparrows, much more will he preserve them whom he hath purchased with the blood of the immaculate Lamb.¹¹ He will keep them unto the hour appointed, wherein the name of God shall be glorified in his saints.¹² In the mean time let them work their wills, let them envy, let them malign, let them blaspheme; let them curse, ban, betray, whip, scourge, hang, and burn: for by these means God will try his elect as gold in the furnace;¹³ and by these fruits, shall they also bring themselves to be known what they be, for all their sheep's skins.¹⁴ For as he that in suffering patiently for the gospel of God, is thereby known to be of Christ, even so likewise is the persecutor of him known to be a member of antichrist. Besides this, their extreme cruelty shall be a mean the sooner to provoke God to take pity upon his servants, and to destroy them that so tyrannously entreat his people; as we may learn by the histories, as well in the bondage of Israel under Pharaoh in Egypt, as also in the miserable captivity of Judah in Babylon:¹⁵ where, when the people of God were in most extreme thralldom, then did the Lord stretch forth his mighty power to deliver his servants. Though God for a time suffer them to be exalted in their own pride, yet shall they not escape his vengeance. They are his rods, and when he hath

(1) John xiv. Psalm xv. Ephes. iv. Colos. v. Matt. x. Mark viii. Phil. iii. Luke viii. xiv.

(2) Phil. iii. Luke viii. xiv. Rom. vii. Ephes. i. Gal. iv. Phil. iii. (3) Heb. vi.

(4) 1 Cor. ii. (5) Heb. xi. (6) Phil. iii. Matt. iii. (7) John. viii.

(8) Psalm xxxiv. Heb. iv. (9) Jude. (10) Psalm lxxvi.

(11) Matt. xx. Luke xxi. Matt. x. (12) 1 Pet. ii. (13) Matt. x. Wisd. iii. (14) Psalm vii.

(15) Exod. viii. Esd. iii. xiii. 2 Macc. vii. James iv. 1 Pet. v. Rev. ix. Heb. xii. James ii.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

worn them to the stumps, then will he cast them into the fire: this shall be their final reward. Our duty is, the mean while, patiently to abide the will of God, which worketh all things for the best.

Thus dealeth he with us, partly for our trial, partly also for our sins, which we most grievously have committed, to the great slander of his gospel, whereby the name of God was evil spoken of among his enemies:¹ for the which he now punisheth us with his fatherly corrections in this world, that we should not be damned with the world. By this means seeketh he his sheep that were lost, to bring them home to the fold again. By this way seeketh he to reform us, that we may be like unto him after the image of his Son Jesus Christ, in all holiness and righteousness before him.² Finally, this way useth his godly wisdom, to make us thereby to know him, and ourselves in him, that aforetime had in a manner forgotten him, praised be his name therefore. And as for these Balaamites which now do molest us, commit them to the hands of God; give him the vengeance, and he will reward them. Fall ye to prayer, and let these belly-gods prate; for he is in heaven, and sleepeth not, that keepeth Israel. He is in heaven that made the seas calm, when the disciples were afraid. Let us now faithfully call upon him, and he will hear us: let us cry unto the Lord, for he is gracious and merciful. When we are in trouble, he is with us: he will deliver us, and he will glorify us. If we come unto him, we shall find him turned unto us. If we repent us of our wickedness done against him, then shall he take away the plague that he hath devised against us.³

Let us therefore earnestly repent, and bring forth the worthy fruits of repentance.⁴ Let us study to be his: then shall we not need to fear what these hypocrites do against us, which, with their pretended holiness, deceive the hearts of the simple, and abuse the authority of God in his princes, causing them (by their procurement) to testify their ambitious prelacy, and to erect up their idol again with the Romish mass. God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings,⁵ open the heart of the queen's highness to espy them out what they be, and so to weed them out, that they no longer be suffered to trouble the congregation of God,⁶ and to poison the realm with pope-holy doctrine. God Almighty, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, deliver the queen's highness and this her church and realm, from these proud prelates, which are as profitable in the church of Christ as a polecat in the midst of a warren of conies.

To conclude, my brethren, I commit you to God, and to the power of his word: which is able to establish you in all truth. His Spirit be with you, and work alway that ye may be mindful of your duties towards him, whose ye are, both body and soul; whom see that ye love, serve, dread, and obey, above all worldly powers, and for nothing under the heavens defile your conscience before God. Dissemble not with his word:⁷ God will not be mocked; nay, they that dissemble with him deceive themselves. Such shall the Lord deny, and cast out at the last day: such, I say, as bear two faces in one hood, such as play on both hands, such as deny the known truth; such as obstinately rebel against him. All such, with their partakers, shall the Lord destroy. God defend you from all such, and make you perfect unto the end. Your sorrow shall be turned unto joy.⁸

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

The God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and all thy parents and friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse; looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks, therefore, desiring thee, of all loves, to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands of everlasting life, which shall ever abide when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish, desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble, which is momentary and light, and, as St. Paul saith, not worthy of the things which

(1) 2 Cor. xii. Esd. iii. vi. Rom. i.

(2) 1 Cor. xi. Luke xv. Eph. iv. Hos. xiii. Rom. xii. Phil. ii. Luke viii. Mark iv.

(3) Psalm viii. iv. Jer. xli. xviii.

(4) Matt. xii.

(5) Job xii. Prov. xv. xxi.

(6) Psalm xxiv. xxx.

(7) Mark i. Matt. x. Rev. v.

(8) John xvi.

shall be showed on us; that we, patiently carrying our cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will (I trust) find a mean for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our departing, that as God hath found us and also elected us worthy to suffer with him, we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and in especial to your parents, keeping your matter close in any wise.

Give most hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours. Amen.

From Newgate, the 15th of April.

By your husband here and in heaven, Robert Smith.

This foresaid Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner there bishop, the 12th day of July, and suffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of August; who, as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before, to all them that were in prison with him, so now, also, being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body, dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life: "and," said he, "I doubt not but that God will show you some token thereof." At length, being well-nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, he suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so, bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

Mary.
A. D.
1555.

His martyrdom and comfortable death.
See Appendix.

A token of comfort and resurrection given by Smith.

A Sententious Letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his Wife, full of Godly Instruction.

Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

Be always an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

In hearing of good things join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your conscience; for he will not easily be entreated.

Love all men, but especially your enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy, as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth others of that he himself is faulty in, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs for himself.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare; and also poverty all which are like to consuming fire, first.

Be good to thy enemy.

A double hedge to the tongue.
Cast out the mote in thine own eye first.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.Covet not
to be rich.
Blessed
be the
merciful.

of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

Show mercy unto the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners, visit your own soul: for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your husband,

Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forsake not Christ for any pain.

Another Letter sent to his Wife, Anne Smith.

The grace of Almighty God be always with you, and comfort, strengthen, and stablish you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honour, my comfort, and your own salvation, and the good ensample to our posterity.

I have received your letter, and, I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if God's marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by Peter the keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same; for well ye know George is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God, and, if he had gotten it, the council sure had seen it; but Peter, like an honest man, never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your letters be delivered at Chancery-lane-end, to my sister Tankerfield, and she may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very straitly kept, I praise God of his mercy: nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two nutmegs that should have gone by Nicholas to our friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor prisoner's gift, until God give more largely. Thomas Iveson sendeth you a penny; I pray you give him thanks for the same, and Dirick also. I have sent you, of that little that I have, two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and send you good speed. In any case keep yourself close: I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty commendations to your parents, and desire them with you to have me in their prayers. Be fervent in prayer; pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up his sword, and look on his people. Tell my brother, with commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the epistle and exhortation; I have written all this fortnight for my lady, yea, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the articles of William Flower, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the prison. The Holy Ghost keep you; I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a cheese to Peter, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at Tankerfield's house. All the congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

I have not yet (tell my brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so strait a commandment, that no man might come to us, because Tooley cursed the pope at the gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

Yours, and ever yours,

Robert Smith.

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

Grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear wife, now and ever, amen, and prevent your ways through his Holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and eschew evil, to his honour and your salvation, that they which see your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

I sent you by master Alexander a purse with money. I have certain tokens for you, sent by my prison-fellows to you, that is, from master Hawkes twelve pence, from master Simson twelve pence, from his wife four pence, from master Wats five new groats, from master Ardeley twelve pence, from master Bradford twelve pence, which men be all gone to death, except master Bradford; he abideth still. There are also gone to death Nicholas Chamberlain, Thomas Osmond, William Bamford. There are also condemned this Monday, Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson, John Launder; and William Vassay is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his people, and bid my brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for God's sake to help us with their prayers. Have little Katherine in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but like a good matron, keep your vessel in holiness. The peace of God rest with you for ever. Amen.

My brother Iveson sendeth to you a token, to your mother a token, and to Katherine a token, three pence. John Launder sendeth you a piece of Spanish money. Father Herauld a piece of six pence. W. Andrews sendeth you a rase of ginger, and I send your mother one, and a nutmeg. I send Katherine comfits, for a token, to eat. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

Your husband, Robert Smith.

Mary.

A.D.
1555.

Behold
here the
commu-
nion of
saints.

See
Appendix.

A Letter sent to a Friend.

The eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say, that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also teacheth others, that it is unhurtful to go to all the abominations, which now stand in the idol's temples. Nevertheless, dear friend, be ye not moved to follow sinners, for they have no inheritance with God and Christ: but look that, by going into the idol temple, ye defile not the temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do; for if not going to church were without persecution, they would not learn you that lesson. But all things that are sweet to the flesh, are allowed of the fleshly. The Lord shall reward every man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the fleshly man is led in the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his Holy Spirit. Amen.

I have sent thee an epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in thy coffer, but in thy heart.

Seek peace, and ensue it. Fear God; love God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.

Thy friend and all men's in Christ Jesus, Robert Smith.

Scribbled in much haste from Newgate the 12th of May.

Robert Smith to all Faithful Servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution.

*1Content thyself with patience

With Christ to bear the cross of pain,

Which can and will thee recompense

A thousand fold with lyke again.

Let nothing cause thy heart to quail;

Launch out thy boat, haule up thy sail,

Put from the shore:

And at the length thou shalt attain,

Unto the port that shall remain

For evermore.*

(1) Edition 1563, p. 1260.—Ed.

Mary.

A.D.

1555.

The Burning of Stephen Harwood and Thomas Fust,**MARTYRED FOR THE TESTIMONY OF THE GOSPEL.**Answer
of Fust to
Bonner.The marty-
rdom of
Harwood
and Fust.

About this time died also by cruel fire these two martyrs of God ; that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Fust at Ware ; which both two, as they were about one time burned with the forementioned Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in sundry places, so were they also examined and openly condemned together with them. Their process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith and others of the said company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same ; save that of Thomas Fust this is to be added, that whereas he, in his last appearing the 12th of July, was moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered : “ No,” said he, “ my lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in God’s book ? I speak nothing but the truth, and I am certain that it is the truth that I speak.” This answer of him only I find noted by the registrar ; although how slenderly these registrars have dealt in uttering such matters (that is, in omitting those things which were most worthy to be known), by their doings it is easy to be seen. But to be short, after their answers made, both he and Thomas Fust were, for their faithful perseverance, condemned together by the bishop in his accustomed pity, as heretics to be burned, and so (as before ye have heard) finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August and year above said.

The constant Martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.Hale’s
words to
the peo-
ple.

Of the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to bishop Bonner by sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also William Hale of Thorp in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest the 12th of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation ; giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on : “ Ah, good people,” said he, “ beware of this idolater, and this antichrist ;”¹ pointing unto the bishop of London. And so was he delivered to the sheriffs as a heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most constantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by cruel fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

George King, Thomas Heyes, John Wade, and William Andrew,**WHO ALL SICKENED IN PRISON, AND WERE BURIED IN
THE FIELDS.**

Ye heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of Newgate by master Hare and other commissioners, to be examined of Bonner

bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been showed; whose names were Elizabeth Warne, George Tankerfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Fust, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the city of London, and there departed, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night of the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it, "propter metum Judæorum." The last that remained of this foresaid company was Joan Laysh or Layshford,¹ the daughter-in-law to John Warne, and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but because she was reprieved to a longer day, her story and martyrdom we will defer till the month of January the next year following.

Mary.
A.D.
1555.
Three
martyrs
sickened
in prison,
and bur-
ied in
the fields.

The like catholic charity was also showed upon William Andrew of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the first day of April, A.D. 1555, by John Motham, constable of Maldon in Essex. The first and principal promoter of him was the lord Riche, who sent him first to prison. Another great doer against him also seemeth to be sir Richard Southwell knight, by a letter written by him to Bonner, as by the copy hereof appeareth.

The lord
Riche, his
first send-
er-up.

A Letter sent to Bonner Bishop of London, from Sir Richard Southwell.

Pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that the lord Riche did, about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth, and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in the prison with his heresy. Your lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordship, but, by occasion of other business, the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore, knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines. And so, referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your good lordship's to command, this 12th of June, 1555.

Richard Southwell.

This William Andrew, being twice brought before Bonner to examination, there manfully stood in the defence of his religion. At length, through strait handling in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life there, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so, after the popish manner, he was cast out into the field, and by night was privily buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

Andrew,
through
strait
handling,
dies in
Newgate,
and is bur-
ied in the
fields.

The Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, Preacher,

SUFFERING FOR THE TRUE DEFENCE OF CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

Master Foster, justice, dwelling at Cobdock in the county of Suffolk, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and the professors of the same, did not only not cease day nor night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity, that were honest and godly inclined to religion; but also, whatsoever they were that once came in his claws, they easily escaped not without

Justice
Foster
persecutor
of Christ's
people.

(1) The story of Joan Layshford hereafter followeth among the martyrs of the next year.

Mary. clog of conscience, or else loss of life, so greedy was he of blood.
A. D. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one Samuel, in king
1555. Edward's days a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who, for his valiant and constant behaviour in his sermons, seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barholt in Suffolk,¹ where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

Samuel in
king Ed-
ward's
days a
godly
preacher.

Removed
from the
ministry.

Would not
consent to
the wick-
ed decree
of queen
Mary to
put away
his wife.

Samuel
appre-
hended in
his house
by night.

Put in
Ipswich
jail.

Removed
to Nor-
wich.

Cruelty of
Dunnings
the bloody
chancel-
lor.

At the last, being removed from the ministry, and put from his benefice (as many other good pastors were beside), when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do; at what time order was taken by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had married in king Edward's days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life. This decree would not Samuel stand unto, for that he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, he kept his wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At last master Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great doer in those quarters, foreslacked no time nor diligence, but oftsoons sendeth out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion, when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they, bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did nothing withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich jail, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried, through the malice of the wicked sort, to Norwich, where the said bishop, Dr. Hopton—whether he, or Dr. Dunnings, his chancellor—full like unmerciful prelates, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed they were men, in that time of persecution, as had not their matches for straitness and cruel tormenting the bodies of the saints among all the rest beside, and specially through the procuring of Dunnings. For although the others were sharp enough in their generation; yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and would go no further. Neither did I ever hear of any besides these, which so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

The bishop therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel, as he had done with the others before,

(1) Perhaps Bargholt in Suffolk. The Editions subsequent to the first read "Barfold."—ED.

kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tiptoe he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to further torment, than that they would preserve his life. O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members! Whose stomach, though it had been made of adamant-stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains above nature? etc.¹

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Cruel
handling
of Samuel
in prison.Famished
in prison

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed, certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, who ministered comfort unto him by these words: "Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee; for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty." Which thing came even to pass accordingly; for speedily after he was burned, and from that time till he should suffer, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he to the end, as he said, that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions, he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been less modest in that behalf, that the love and care that Christ hath of his, might have the more appeared thereby unto us by such present arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, though there be sufficient testimonies of the same in the holy Scriptures already.

Samuel
brought to
burning.Strange
visions
that hap-
pened to
him.Great
comforts
ministered
by the
Lord to
him in his
imprisonment.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of the which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought forth, and suffered in the same town anon after.

Another
memorable
vision
of Samuel.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck, and kissed him, who, being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after, to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me: howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she

(1) "Quoties suam ipse urinam exoptabat bibere! sed exsiccum corpus longâ tabe exhaustum nullum urinæ liquorem reddere quibat." See the Latin Edition, p. 524.—Ed.

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Two godly women apprehended.

escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But as this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife, but both together now espoused to a new husband, Christ.

This godly wife, exhorted to fly, would not.

With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar and well acquainted, who, on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, had this answer at her hands again: "I know well," saith she, "that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use, if you list. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to a husband, and have besides a sort of young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

Anne Potten and Trunchfield's wife.
See Appendix.

The Lord Jesus a ready help in time of weakness.

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called Anne Potten, the other called Joan Trunchfield, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both into prison together, who, as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison; and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the weak infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity; so at the length they both suffered after Samuel, in 1556, February 19, as shall be, by the Lord's grace, declared hereafter. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which, being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the 31st of August, anno 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine in the eyes of them that stood by, as bright and white as new-tryed silver, as I am informed by some which were there and did behold the sight.

A Letter or Exhortation of Robert Samuel to the patient Suffering of Afflictions for Christ's cause.

Complaint against England, and that not understood.

A man knoweth not his time, but as the fish is taken with the angle, and as the birds are caught with the snare;¹ even so are men caught and taken in the perilous time when it cometh upon them. The time cometh; the day draweth near.² Better it were to die (as the preacher saith)³ than to live and see the miserable works which are done under the sun; such sudden and strange mutation, such woful, heinous, and lamentable divisions so fast approach, and none, or very few, thoroughly repent. Alas! for this sinful nation, a people of great iniquity and seed of ungraciousness, corrupting their ways. They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked the Holy One of Israel to anger, and are gone backward.⁴ Who now liveth not in such security and rest, as though all dangers were clean overpast? Who now blindeth and buffeteth not Christ, with "seest me?" and "seest me not?" yea, who liveth not now in such felicity, worldly pleasures and joys, wholly seeking the world, providing and craftily shifting for the earthly clod and all carnal appetites, as though sin were clean forgotten, overthrown, and devoured? Like hoggish

(1) Eccl. ix.

(2) Ezek. vii.

(3) Eccl. iv.

(4) Isaiah i.

Gergesites,¹ now are we more afraid and ashamed of Christ our Messias, fearing the loss of our filthy pigs, I mean our transitory goods, and disquieting of our sinful and mortal bodies in this short, uncertain, and miserable life, than of a legion of devils,² seducing and driving us from hearing, reading, and believing Christ, God's eternal Son, and his holy word,³ the power to save our souls, unto vanities, lies, and fables, and to this bewitching world.

O perilous abundance of goods, too much saturity of meats, wealth, and quietness, which destroyed with so many souls, those goodly cities, Sodom and Gomorrah! Jeroboam, so long as he was but a poor man, not yet advanced to his dignity, lived in the laws of God without reprehension; but, brought once to wealth and prosperous state, he became a wicked and most shameful idolater. And what made the covetous young man so loth to follow Christ,⁴ when he was bidden to forsake but worldly wealth which he then enjoyed? Wo be unto these false illusions of the world, baits of perdition, hooks of the devil, which have so shamefully deceived and seduced full many from the right path unto the Lord, into the high-ways of confusion and perpetual perdition!

We might now worthily, dear Christians, lament and bewail our heavy state, miserable condition, and sorrowful chance: yea, I say, we might well accuse ourselves, and with Job⁵ curse these our troublous, wicked, and bloody last days of this world, were it not that we both see and believe, and find in God's sacred book, that a remnant God hath in all ages reserved,⁶ I mean the faithful, as many as have been from the beginning of the world, exercised, whetted, and polished with divers afflictions, troubles, and tossings, cast and dashed against all perils and dangers, as the very dross and outcasts of the earth, and yet will in no wise halt between God and Baal; for God verily abhorreth two men in one: he cannot away with them that are between both, but casteth them away as a filthy vomit.⁷ Christ will not part spoil with his mortal enemy the devil; he will have all, or lose all: he will not permit the devil to have the service of the body, and he to stand contented with the heart and mind: but "he will be glorified both in your bodies and in your spirits, which are his,"⁸ as St. Paul saith. For he hath made, bought all, and dearly paid for all, as St. Peter saith. With his own immaculate body hath he clean discharged your bodies from sin, death, and hell, and with his most precious blood paid your ransom and full price once for all and for ever.⁹

Now what harm, I pray you, or what loss sustain you by this? Why are you, O vain men, more afraid of Jesus your gentle Saviour, and his gospel of salvation, than of a legion of cruel devils, going about with false delusions utterly to destroy you, both bodies and souls? Think you to be more sure than under your captain, Christ? Do you promise yourselves to be more quiet in Satan's service, than in Christ's religion? Esteem you more these transitory and pernicious pleasures, than God, and all his heavenly treasures? O palpable darkness, horrible madness, and wilful blindness, without comparison too much to be suffered any longer! We see and will not see; we know and will not know; yea, we smart and will not feel, and that our conscience well knoweth. O miserable and brainless souls, which would, for foolish pleasures and slippery wealth, lose the royal kingdom and permanent joys of God, with the everlasting glory which he hath prepared for them that truly love him, and renounce the world. The children of the world live in pleasure and wealth; and the devil, who is their God and prince of this world, keepeth their wealth which is proper unto them, and letteth them enjoy it.¹⁰ But let us which be of Christ, seek and inquire for heavenly things, which, by God's promise and mercy in Christ, shall be peculiar unto us. Let, I say, the Cretians, Epicures, and such other beastly Belials and carnal people, pass for things that be pleasant for the body, and do appertain to this transitory life: "Yet shall they once," as the kingly prophet saith, "run about the city of God, to and fro howling like dogs,"¹¹ desiring one scrap of the joys of God's elect; but all too late, as the rich glutton did.¹²

Let us therefore pass for those things that do pertain to the spirit, and be celestial. "We must be here," saith Paul, "not as inhabitants, and homedwellers, but as strangers:"¹³ not as strangers only, but after the mind of Paul, as painful soldiers appointed of our governor to fight against the governor of the

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

*See
Appendix.*

Abundance of goods is a thing perilous.

God hath always a remnant, whom he polisheth with hard adversities.

Two men in one, God abhorreth.

No true quietness in Satan's service.

The miserable madness of worldly men lamented.

Transitory pleasures of this life not to be passed upon.

(1) Matt. viii.

(2) Mark v.

(3) Rom. x.

(4) Matt. xix.

(5) Job iii.

(6) Isaiah x. 1 Cor. iv.

(7) Rev. iii.

(8) 1 Cor. vi.

(9) 1 Pet. i.

(10) 2 Cor. iv. John xii.

(11) Psalm lvi.

(12) Luke xvi.

(13) Col. iii.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

darkness of this world, against spiritual craftiness in heavenly things.¹ The time is come; we must to it; the judgment must begin first at the house of God.² Began they not first with the green and sappy tree? and what followed then on the dry branches?³ Jeremy speaking in the person of God, saith; "In the city wherein my name is invocated, will I begin to punish:"⁴ but as for you (meaning the wicked), shall you be as innocents, and not once touched? For the dregs of God's wrath, the bottom of all sorrows, are reserved unto them in the end: but God's household shall drink the flower of the cup of his mercy. And therefore let us say with Hezekiah, "Play the men, and shrink not. Let us comfort ourselves, for the Lord is with us our helper, and fighteth for us." "The Lord is," saith he, "with you, when you be with him; and when you seek him, he will be found of you:"⁵ and again, "When you forsake him, he will forsake you."

Wherefore we ought not to be dismayed, or discourage ourselves, but rather to be of good comfort; not to be sad, but merry; not sorrowful, but joyful, in that God of his goodness will vouchsafe to take us as his beloved children, to subdue our sinful lusts, our wretched flesh and blood, unto his glory, the promoting of his holy word, and edifying of his church. What if the earthly house of this our habitation (Paul meaning the body) be destroyed?⁶ We know assuredly we shall have a building of God not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, with such joys as faith taketh not, hope toucheth not, and charity apprehendeth not. They pass all desires and wishes. Gotten they may be by Christ; esteemed they cannot be: wherefore the more affliction and persecution the word of God bringeth, the more felicity and greater joy abide in heaven. But the worldly peace, idle ease, wealthy pleasure, and this present and pleasant transitory life and felicity, which the ungodly foolishly imagine to procure unto themselves by persecuting and thrusting away the gospel, shall turn unto their own trouble, and at last unto horrible destructions and mutations of realms and countries; and, after this life, if they repent not, unto their perpetual infelicity, perdition, and damnation. For they had rather with Nabal,⁷ and his temporal pleasures, descend to the devil, than with poor Christ, and his bodily troubles, ascend unto the kingdom of God his Father. "But an unwise man," saith the Psalmist, "comprehendeth them not; neither doth the foolish understand them:"⁸ that is, these bloody persecutors grow up and flourish like the flower and grass in the field. But unto this end do they so flourish, that they might be cut down and cast into the fire for ever. For, as Job saith, "Their joy lasteth but the twinkling of an eye,"⁹ and death shall lie gnawing upon them, as doth the flock upon the pasture; yea, the cruel worm, late repentance (as in Mark is said), shall lie gnawing, tormenting, and accusing their wretched conscience for evermore.¹⁰

Let us therefore, good Christians, be constant in obeying God, rather than men. For although they slay our sinful bodies (yea, rather our deadly enemies) for God's verity, yet they cannot do it, but by God's sufferance and goodwill, to his praise and honour, and to our eternal joy and felicity. For our blood shed for the gospel shall preach it with more fruit, and greater furtherance, than did our mouths, lives, and writings, as did the blood of Abel, Stephen, with many others more. What though they laugh Christ and his word to scorn, which sit in the chair of perverse pestilent scorners? to whom, as to the wise Gentiles of the world, the gospel of Christ is but foolishness, as it was to the Jews a slander and a stumbling-stone, whereat they now, being fallen, have provoked the wrath and vengeance of God upon them.

"These are the days of vengeance," saith Luke,¹¹ "that all things written may be fulfilled." And surely it shall be no less than a huge storm of evils that shall come upon us, because that a long and cursed obstinate maliciousness of us hath gone before, crying in the ears of the Lord God of Hosts; who, so many times and so many ways, have been provoked with the unspeakable riches of his goodness, his patience and long-suffering, to amendment, and have nevertheless contemned the same, and proceeded forward to worse and worse, provoking and stirring the presence of God's majesty unto anger.

Now therefore, saith God, by the mouth of his prophet, "I will come unto thee, and I will send my wrath upon thee." Upon thee, I say, O England! and

Joys laid up in Christ to man's sense inestimable.

Samuel prophesieth of the destruction of the persecutors.

To what end the persecutors do flourish in this world.

The blood of God's martyrs preacheth with more fruit than did their mouths.

God long looketh for repentance, and we wax worse and worse.

(1) 1leb. xiii.

(5) 2 Chron. iii.

(9) Job xxi.

(2) John vii.

(6) 2 Cor. v.

(10) Mark ix.

(3) Eph. v. 1 Pet. iv.

(7) 1 Kings xxv.

(11) Luke ii.

(4) Jer. xxv.

(8) Psalm xl.

(12) Isa. iii.

punish thee according to thy ways, and reward thee after all thine abominations. Thou hast kindled the fire of God's wrath, and has stirred up the coals: for thou wast once lightened, and hadst tasted of the heavenly gift, and wast become partaker of the Holy Ghost, and hadst tasted of the good word of God; yea, it is yet in thy mouth, saith the prophet. Alas, O England! thou knewest thy Lord and Master's will, but didst nothing thereafter: "Thou must therefore," saith he, "suffer many stripes, and many sharp strokes, and walk in the glittering and hot flame of thine own fire, and in the coals that thou hast kindled." "This cometh to thee from my hand," saith the Lord, "namely, that thou shalt sleep in sorrow;" yea, even so thou shalt. The plain truth telleth the tale; the immutable justice of the everliving God, and the ordinary course of his plagues from the beginning, confirm the same. "The joy of our heart," saith Jeremy, "is gone, our glory is fallen away, our merry singing is turned into mourning, the garland of our head is fallen." Alas, and weal away, that ever we sinned so sore: woe worth all abominations and wickedness; woe worth cloaked hypocrisy; woe worth our carnal liberty; woe worth our most cursed idolatry. For, because of these things, saith the Lord, ye shall perish with sword, hunger, and pestilence.

Wherefore, let all the wicked enemies of Christ, and all the unbelievers, look to be tormented and vexed with all hellish furies, and clean without hope at God's accounting day, which know not God in Christ to be their very righteousness, their life, their only salvation and alone Saviour, nor believe in him. "They must," saith St. John, "needs abide and perish with their sins in death, and in eternal damnation." But we be the children of saints, as the elder Toby did answer, and look for another life, which God shall give to all them which change not their faith, and shrink not from him. Rejoice, therefore, ye christian afflicted brethren; for they cannot take our souls and bodies out of the hands of the Almighty, which be kept as in the bosom of our most sweet and loving Father: and if we abide fast in Christ, and turn not away like weathercocks, surely we shall live for ever. Christ affirmeth the same, saying, "My sheep hear my voice; I know them; they hearken unto me, and to no strangers; and I give them everlasting life, for they shall not be lost, and no man shall pluck them out of my hands:"² no, nor yet this flattering world with all his vain pleasures, nor any tyrant with his great threats and stout brags, can once move them out of the way of eternal life. What consolation and comfort may we have more pleasant and effectuous than this? God is on our side, and fighteth for us; he suffereth, he smarteth, and is afflicted with us. As the world can do nothing against his might, neither in taking away or diminishing of his glory, nor putting him from his celestial throne; so can it neither harm nor hurt any one of his children without his goodwill. For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones,³ and as dear to him as the apple of his eye.

Let us therefore, with an earnest faith, set fast hold and sure feeling upon the promises of God in the gospel, and let us not be sundered from the same by any temptation, tribulation, or persecution. Let us consider the verity of God to be invincible, inviolable, and immutable, promising and giving us his faithful soldiers life eternal. It is he only that hath deserved it for us. It is his only benefit, and of his only mere mercy; and unto him only must we render thanks. Let not therefore the vain fantasies and dreams of men, and foolish gauds and toys of the world, nor the crafty delusions of the devil, drive and separate us from our hope of the crown of righteousness, that is laid up in store for us against the last day.⁴ Oh! that happy and merry last day (I mean to the faithful) when Christ by his covenant shall grant and give unto them that overcome, and keep his words to the end, that they may ascend and sit in seat with him, as he hath ascended and sitteth on throne with his Father. The same body and soul that is now with Christ afflicted, shall then be with Christ glorified: now in the butcher's hands, as sheep appointed to die;⁵ then sitting at God's table with Christ in his kingdom, as God's honourable and dear children, where we shall have for earthly poverty, heavenly riches; for hunger and thirst, saturity of the pleasant presence of the glory of God; for sorrows, troubles, and cold irons, celestial joys, and the company of angels; and for a bodily death, life eternal. O happy souls! O precious death, and evermore blessed; right dear in the eyes of God: to you the spring of the Lord shall ever be flourishing. Then, as

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Wickedness of England declared. England worthily rebuked. He bewaileth the state of England.

Comfort to the afflicted brethren.

Christ himself suffereth in his members afflicted.

God's promise is immutable.

O merry last day!

Christ's saints be here in butcher's hands.

Mary. saith Isaiah, "The redeemed shall return and come again into Sion, praising the Lord; and eternal mercies shall be over their heads: they shall obtain mirth and solace; sorrow and woe shall be utterly vanquished." "Yea, I am he,"
A.D. saith the Lord, "that in all things giveth you everlasting consolation." To whom
1555. with the Father and the Holy Ghost be glory and praise for ever, Amen.

Robert Samuel.

Another Letter written to the Christian Congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the Confession of his Faith.

"The belief of the heart justifieth, and the knowledge with the mouth maketh a man safe."¹

"Fear not the curse of men; be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool; but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation."²

Considering with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the uncon-
 stant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and
 false slander of God's most holy word, these urgent causes in conscience do
 constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's
 holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, "Be ready always to give an
 answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and
 that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience; that when they back-
 bite you as evil doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely
 accused your good conversation in Christ."³

As touching my doctrine, for that little talent that God hath given me, God
 I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I
 neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received
 of the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only
 sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray, the
 innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to
 the defence of the same, seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious
 blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of
 God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe
 this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, to be suffi-
 cient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me and all the holy church,
 of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

One God. First and principally I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there
 is one Deity or divine essence, and infinite substance; which is both called, and
 is indeed God everlasting, unbodily, unpartible; unmeasurable in power, wis-
 dom, and goodness; the maker and preserver of all things, as well visible as
 invisible: and yet there be three distinct persons, all of one godhead or divine
 being, and all of one power, coequal, consubstantial, coeternal—the Father, the
 Son, and the Holy Ghost.

*Three
 persons.*

I believe in God, the Father Almighty, etc. As touching God the Father of
 heaven, I believe as much as holy Scripture teacheth me to believe. The
 Father is the first person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation, which hath
 blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; which
 hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be
 holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us and ordained
 us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesu;⁴ in him, as it is said, we
 live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat
 to every creature.⁵

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that
 is, the Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in
 the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary; so that there be in him two natures, a
 divine nature, and a human nature, in the unity of one person inseparable,
 conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God and truly man, the express and
 perfect image of the invisible God,⁶ wherein the will of God the Father shineth
 apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought
 to do, that he may please God the Father.

(1) Rom. x.
 (4) Eph. i.

(2) Isa. li.
 (5) Acts xvii. Psalm cxlvii.

(3) 1 Pet. iii.
 (6) Heb. i.

Born of the Virgin Mary; truly suffering his passion; crucified, dead, and buried, to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice, host, and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Christ Jesus.¹

The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign, and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, etc.

I believe in the Holy Ghost, coequal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin: which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, that she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true pastor Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.²

I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; who is made unto us, of God, that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all them that be sanctified.

I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies, the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly establish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ our Saviour, and first-fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our Head is risen, we, being his body and members, must follow our Head. Death, hell, and sin cannot sunder nor pluck us from him; for as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking,³ etc. "We look," saith St. Paul, "for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body, by the same power and virtue wherewith he is able to subdue all things: even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first putrefied and brought as into a thing of nought, yet, after that, it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour."⁴

Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe, the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake. "Verily, verily, I say unto you," saith Christ,⁵ "he that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life." It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die. It is he that swallowed up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever.⁶ What now can death do unto us? Verily nothing else, but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity, and joys eternal.

As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord: I believe them to be as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirma-

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

No merits
but only
in Christ.

The catholic
church is
the communion
of saints.

Remission of
sins.

Confirmation of
our resurrection.

The sting of death
plucked out.

The use of
sacraments.

Baptism.

(1) Isa. xlviii. xliii. Gen. i. xx

Isa. liii. Acts x. Matt. viii.

(2) John x. viii. Gal. i. 1 Tim.

(3) John x. xi.

(4) Phil. iv. John xii. 1 Cor. xv.

(5) John v.

(6) Rom. x. Hosea. xiii.

*Margy.*A. D.
1555.The sacrament
of the
Lord's
Supper.God's
word to
the ear,
and to
the eye.Christ's
body pre-
sent in
the sacra-
ment to
our spiri-
tual eyes.How the
body of
Christ is
spiritu-
ally to be
eaten.

tion of our acception into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours, given us of God; and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are his, whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the waves of perils, and changes of life, to the intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again like new men unto righteousness.¹

The other sacrament, which is the Supper and holy Maunday of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes, which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe,² so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man; it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to condemn the world for the life to come, when Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and nowhere else as concerning his human body.

Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy Supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For, as soon as I hear these most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister, "This is my body which is given for you:" when I hear (I say) this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth, I look not upon, neither do I behold, bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be rapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating after the manner of our bodily food,³ which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth;⁴ but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, a hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feed and look upon, that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very man, which was crucified and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet sap and taste of the fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion, fully digested into the bowels of my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, turmoilings, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more; for all things are but loss, vile dung and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge-sake of Christ Jesu my Lord and Saviour.⁵

Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed,⁶ and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me:⁷ yea, I dwell in him, and he in me; for, through faith in Christ and for Christ's sake we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.⁸ Thus am I assured and fully persuaded, and on this rock have I builded, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.

Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to do, among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.⁹

Robert Samuel.

(1) Rom. vi.

(5) Phil. iii.

(2) Acts i. 3. Rom. x.

(6) John vi.

(3) Rom. viii. Heb. ix.

(7) Ephes. v. Gal. ii.

(8) John xvii.

(4) John vi.

(9) Mark viii.

The Martyrdom of William Allen,

SEPTEMBER 1555.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

Next after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned William Allen in Walsingham, labouring man, servant some time to John Houghton of Somerton. He, being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned, answered, that he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross, saying, that he would never go on procession.

Then, being willed by the bishop to return again to the catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all others follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For the which, sentence of condemnation was given against him the 12th of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September, who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tried conversation among them, that he was suffered to go untied to his suffering, and there, being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

The Martyrdom of Roger Coo, of Melford in Suffolk,

SHEARMAN; FIRST EXAMINED BEFORE HOPTON THE BISHOP OF NORWICH, AND BY HIM CONDEMNED, AUGUST 12, ANNO 1555.

Roger Coo, being brought before the bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned.

Coo :—"At the justice's commandment."

Bishop :—"There was some cause why."

Coo :—"Here is my accuser; let him declare."

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament. Then the bishop said, that he thought he had transgressed a law. But Coo answered that there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was? He answered how he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

"No," said his accuser, "nor will not. My lord, ask him when he received the sacrament."

When Coo heard him say so, he said, "I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself."

But the bishop would not hear that, but said, "Coo, why? will ye not receive?"

Coo answered him, that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine, instead of the gospel and the belief of the same.

Bishop :—"How prove you that?"

Coo :—"Our Saviour said, 'My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;' and the bread and wine doth not so."

Bishop :—"Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and break it, and say, 'This is my body?'"

"Yes," said Coo, and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop :—"You have said the truth."

Then Coo replied further, and said, "Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him, and not to say this in remembrance of him, neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said."

Roger
Coo to his
accuser.

The sac-
rament
of the
Lord's
Supper.

*Mary.**Bishop* :—"How prove you that?"*A. D.**Coo* :—"It is written in the second of the Acts."*1555.*

Then the bishop's chaplain said, it was true.

The bishop asked him if he could say his belief.

Coo answered, "Yea," and so said part of the creed, and then after he said, he believed more; for he believed the Ten Commandments, that it was meet for all such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bishop :—"Is not the holy church to be believed also?"*Coo* :—"Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God."The bishop said to *Coo*, that he had charge of his soul.

Coo :—"Have ye so, my lord? Then if *ye* go to the devil for your sins, where shall *I* become?"

Bishop :—"Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?"

Coo :—"It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, 'there shall come a people with the prince, that shall destroy both city and sanctuary.'¹ I pray you show me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?"

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the king's laws.

Coo :—"As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them."

Bishop :—"Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel."

Coo :—"If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God."

Then the bishop told him, that these twenty-two years we have been governed with such kings.

Coo :—"My lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?"*Bishop* :—"I durst not for fear of death."

And thus they ended. But after this done, it was reported that *I* railed; wherefore *I* called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever! Amen.

Martyrdom of
Roger
Coo.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yoxford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, A.D. 1555, in the month of September.

Thomas Cob, Butcher, of Haverhill in Suffolk, Martyr.

Examination of
Cob.

The real
presence of Christ
only in
heaven.

Over and besides this foresaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokeneyland,³ Robert Samuel, and others, in the same year, upon the 12th of August, was also with them condemned Thomas Cob, of Haverhill, butcher, executed in the month of September aforesaid; who, being brought and examined by Michael Dunnings, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar; answered, that the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in the Scripture, that Christ did ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no, he answered, that his body should be at the king and queen's commandment, so far as the law of God would suffer, etc. In fine, the said

Martyrdom of
Cob.

(1) Dan. ix.

(2) Well spoken, and like the pope's clerk.

(3) Nayland, a chapel to the vicarage of Stoke.—Ed.

Thomas Cob, being condemned the same 12th day of August, with the other his fellow-martyrs, was burned in the town of Thetford, A.D. 1555, in the month of September.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

The Martyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

Now from Norfolk and Suffolk, to return again into the diocese of Canterbury, we have to entreat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ and his gospel's cause; the names of the which five martyrs were these:—George Catmer of Hythe; Robert Streater of Hythe; Anthony Burward of Calete;¹ George Brodbridge of Bromfield; James Tutty of Brenchley; who, upon the 3d day of August, were brought before Thornton, the foresaid bishop of Dover, and his complices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles, touching the sacrament of their altar, auricular confession, and other such like.

Examination of these five martyrs.

To the which the said Catmer (being first examined) made answer on this wise: “Christ,” quoth he, “sitteth in heaven, on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar. But he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol.”

Catmer.

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who, being also asked whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, said that he did not so believe; “for you do maintain heresy and idolatry,” quoth he, “in that ye teach to worship a false God in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God.”

Streater.

The like objection was articulate also against Anthony Burward, who also said, that their sacrament was made an idol.

Burward.

After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he said to those articles; who answered, that he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread given in the remembrance of him. “Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do,” quoth he, “utterly defy them.”

Brodbridge.

And last of all, did also James Tutty make and confirm their said former answers. And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at Canterbury aforesaid, about the 6th day of September then next following.

Tutty.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm, but some good martyrs or other there

(1) Calais, or Caley's Grange and Rectory in the isle of Thanet, may perhaps be intended.—ED.

Mary. shed their blood. And first, to begin with the diocese of Lichfield
A.D. and Coventry, there we find these two to be condemned and also
1555. burned about the midst of the said month of September at the
 town of Lichfield; whose names were Thomas Hayward and John
 Goreway.

**The Persecution and Trouble of Master Robert Glover, Gentleman,
 and of John Glover his Brother, in the Diocese of Lichfield.**

Unto this present time and month of September, pertaineth also the memorable martyrdom of master Robert Glover gentleman, in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry; of whose apprehension and troubles because I cannot well entreat, but I must also intermix some mention of his brother John Glover, forasmuch as this privy commission was chiefly sent down for the said John, and not for Robert Glover (albeit it pleased Almighty God, that John escaped, and Robert in his stead was apprehended), I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life. And first, to begin with John the eldest brother, who, being a gentleman born, and heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Maneetter, was endued with fair possessions of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues, which grace of God so working in him, he, with his two other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the happy light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed, the same; much unlike unto our table-gospellers now-a-days, "*virtutem qui verba putant ut lueum ligna,*" as Horace saith.¹

Three
godly bre-
thren, and
zealous
professors
of the
gospel.

The in-
ward con-
flicts and
exercise
of Glover:
a double
martyr.

And as touching this foresaid John Glover,² it pleased God so to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous passions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did, yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered, and that of so long time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments, what boiling heats of the fire of hell in his spirit inwardly, he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, whom partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea,

A heavy
cross of
inward
torments
laid upon
him.

(1) Lib. i. Epist. vi. 31.—Ed.

(2) As a more circumstantial history of John Glover is hereafter supplied from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, the following passage, extant in recent editions, is omitted in the text above. The author speaks of John Glover " (who through his manifold afflictions seemed to have a deeper taste and contemplation of spiritual things, joined with mortification from all worldly cares, more than the other had), although sufficient relation be made before in our first edition to be seen; yet as concerning his spiritual conflicts, and the Lord's gracious working in him, because the consideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience peradventure to the comfort of the godly, it shall not be hurtful to rehearse some part of the same."—Ed.

and almost no kind of senses was left in him. And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him, who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant so far worn, with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possible be, that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments. And yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas on the contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

The better conscience t'ie sooner disquiet-ed.

The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christ's heavenly kingdom, his mind, after that, falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in Hebrews vii.: "For it cannot be, that they which were once illumined, and have tasted the heavenly gift,"¹ etc.; upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost: even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself, what terrors, boilings, and convulsions turmoiled in the mean time in his woful breast: although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

The first occasion of his inward affliction.

In comparing now the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames, would not he willingly have suffered, to have had some refocillation² and time of refreshing? who in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation so long as he might, thinking with himself no less but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of the body. Albeit Christ, he thought, did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not (as he imagined) help, because of the verity of the word, which said, "It cannot be,"³ etc.

No grief like to the grief of conscience.

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alleviate the same, that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further commodity than we can think: which well appeared in this good servant of God (in no man more), who, albeit, as we have said, he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan; yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him

Christ a merciful helper in temptations and hard distresses.

Glover, by the grace of Christ, restored again to perfect tranquillity.

(1) Heb. vi. 4.

(2) "Refocillation" is synonymous with 'refreshing.'—Ed.

(3) Heb. vi. 4.

*Mary.**A. D.*
1555.

out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like lightly hath not been seen, in such sort as he being like one placed in heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all profane doings. Neither was his talk any thing discrepant from the fruits of his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath-rest. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of king Edward the Sixth.

After this, in the persecuting days of queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, eftsoons he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, disposing all things after his own secret pleasure, who, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor silly wretch: neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God therefore, of his divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide, that Robert his brother, being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries (being a Master of Arts in Cambridge), should sustain that conflict; and even so it came to pass, as ye shall hear. For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of master John Glover, he sent forthwith a privy watch-word to the said John, to convey away himself; who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in the sight of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment.

The
mayor of
Coventry
sendeth
a privy
watch-
word to
Glover.

Glover
appre-
hended
lying sick
in his
chamber.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the officers, going into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him incontinent brought before the sheriff; which sheriff notwithstanding, favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying that he was not the man for whom they were sent: yet, nevertheless, being feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will, and so laid him fast while the bishop came. And thus much by the way of preamble, first, concerning the worthy remembrance of master John Glover.

Now to enter the matter which principally we have in hand (that is, to consider the story and martyrdom of master Robert Glover), forasmuch as the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony in writing was sent unto his wife, concerning the manner

of his ordering and handling, it shall therefore seem best, for the more credit of the matter, to exhibit the said his own letter, the words and contents whereof here ensue as followeth.

Mary.

A. D.

1555.

A Letter of Master Robert Glover to his Wife, containing the whole Discourse and Description of his Troubles sustained in Prison, and of his sundry Conflicts between the Bishop and him about Religion.

To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover,

The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.

I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice (with tears, I say), for joy and gladness, that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things; which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

These your letters, and the hearing of your most godly proceedings and constant doings from time to time, much relieved and comforted me at all times, and shall be a goodly testimony with you at the great day, against many worldly and dainty dames, which set more by their own pleasure and pelf in this world, than by God's glory, little regarding (as it appeareth) the everlasting health of their own souls or others'. My prayer shall be, whilst I am in this world, that God, which of his great mercy hath begun his good work in you, will finish it to the glory of his name; and, by the mighty power and inspiration of his Holy Spirit, so strengthen, stablish, and confirm you in all his ways to the end, that we may together show forth his praises in the world to come, to our unspeakable consolation everlastingly. Amen.

The worldly wantonness commonly of English women noted.

So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up, as St. Paul saith, clean or pure hands without anger, wrath, or doubting;¹ forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And that we may be the better willing to forgive, it is good often to call to remembrance the multitude and greatness of our sins, which Christ daily and hourly pardoneth and forgiveth us; and then we shall, as St. Peter affirmeth, be ready to cover and hide the offences of our brethren, be they never so many.² And because God's word teacheth us, not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do or not to do in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God; and that, as Christ saith, "The word of God that he hath spoken shall judge in the last day:"³ let your prayer be to this end specially, that God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart the true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living, to express the fruits thereof.

Ghostly lessons and precepts of christian life.

And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time:⁴ call upon God continually for his assistance always, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you; endeavouring yourself, through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm or tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife;⁵ that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry (that is, false worshipping of God, otherwise than his word commandeth), look not back (I say) nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and

Example of Lot's wife.

(1) 1 Tim. ii.

(2) 1 Pet. iv

(3) John xii.

(4) 1 Cor. i.

(5) Luké xvii.

- Mary.* example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the Church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.
- A. D. 1555.*
- First note.* They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, the church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God, whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.
- Second note.* Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled by his word, as he saith, "My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples."¹ Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.
- Third note.* Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change, his blessed Testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the Scripture saith) with their own inventions, "to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands."²
- Fourth note.* The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted; the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay and kill, such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues never so excellent.
- Fifth note.* Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, "Search the Scriptures."³ But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.
- Sixth note.* The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.⁴
- The pope's church and Christ's.* By these, and such like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them therefore to Nimrod, whom the Scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion, telling them that that which they could not have by the word, they would have by the sword, and be the church, whether men will or no; and called them with good conscience, as Christ called their forefathers, the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church (as they call it) standeth by lying and murdering.
- The church of the valiant papists compared to Nimrod, and why.* Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins, for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters. "It is a fearful thing," as St. Paul saith, "to fall into the hands of God." Remember the prophet Elias, "Why halt ye on both sides?"⁵ Remember what Christ saith, "He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me."⁶ And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the forward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rearward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause.⁷ Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons, and in your days, Anne Askew, Laurence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. "Be afraid in nothing," saith St. Paul, "of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation."⁸ Christ commandeth the same,
- The pope's church under pain of damnation is to be avoided.*
- He exhorteth to be bold in Christ.*

(1) John x.

(3) John v.

(7) Rev. ii.

(2) "Et lætari super operibus manuum suarum." Acts. vii.

(4) Eph. v.

(8) Phil. i.

(5) 1 Chron. xviii.

(6) Luke ix.

saying, "Fear them not." Let us not follow the example of him which asked time first, to take leave of his friends. If we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the Scripture saith, "They forsook all, and by and by followed Christ."¹ Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now-a-days be like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn. So ignorant be they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which, being compared to it, be less in value than a barley-corn.

Mary.

A. D.
1555.Worldly
Chris-
tians re-
sembled
to Æsop's
cock.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me : first, the foregoing of you and my children ; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age, and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal ; possessions above the common sort of men ; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister ; and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment, before I should come to my answer, and so my death to be unprofitable.

Worldly
allure-
ments by
God's
grace
with-
stood

But these and such like, I thank my heavenly Father (which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost, for his Son's sake my only Saviour and Redeemer) prevailed not in me : but when I had, by the wonderful permission of God, fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff, nature a little abashed ; yet ere ever I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming unto me, "What matter have you master sheriff to charge me withal?" He answered, "You shall know when you come before the masters;" and so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal : but, contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being showed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God ; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

Experi-
ence of
the Lord's
assist-
ance in
confirm-
ing his
servantsGlover
commit-
ted to the
gaol be-
fore any
cause was
declared

After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness my belly full, musing much of the great mercies of God, and (as it were) saying to myself after this sort : "O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for thy gospel's sake?" And so, beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unableness, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was, as it were, amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart : O Lord, thou showest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness ; who shall let thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for the same.

God's
mighty
consola-
tion upon
Glover in
prison.He weep-
eth for
joy in pri-
son.

Not long after came unto me master W. Brasbridge, master C. Phineas, master N. Hopkins, travailing with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was (to my remembrance) after this sort : "Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burden me withal, if I should enter into bonds, I should in so doing accuse myself ; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds, as with bonds."

Glover
coun-
selled to
put in
bonds,
refuses.

Secondarily, if I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloak their wickedness, and endanger myself nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise : I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

Worldly
persua-
sions not
received.

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.

And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to master Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took as it were a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so, when they had let their suit fall, my heart (me thought) was wonderfully comforted. Master Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Glover
reasoning
with him-
self.

Afterward debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head; I have from time to time with good conscience (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference withal to be no dalliers in God's matters but to show themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath been a great boldener of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

Glover
taketh
courage,
all fear
and dan-
ger set
aside.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore, according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and persuaded all that professed God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish antichrist; so, the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish antichrist should do against me, and the rather because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the sumner: who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me), saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day!

Glover
resolved
in him-
self to
abide the
uttermost
for the
gospel's
cause.

The pa-
pists pro-
ceed with
Glover
against
the laws
of the
realm.

*But¹ now, because mention hath been made of the elder brother, I thought good to speak something of him; as well for that the order of this tragedy so requireth, as because his virtues and qualities were such as I could in no ways commit them to silence. This man's name was John Glover, something elder than Robert; a gentleman born, and heir to his father; a man of fair lands, but not so abounding in worldly goods and possessions, as nourished with heavenly cogitations and virtuous doings; the which, many years, had professed and acknowledged the blissful and gracious knowledge of the gospel, showing no less by his life and example the same: much unlike our gospellers, now-a-days, which suppose the profession of the gospel to consist in words. But this man used another kind of professing of it far different, converting all his care that he might appear a gospeller, as well within as without; not so much that he

(1) These observations of Foxe, respecting John Glover, are reprinted from the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, Edit. 1563, page 1277. A few repetitions of the author's remarks upon the same subject, at page 385, will be detected, but these passages could scarcely be omitted without mutilating the whole insertion. It may be added, that the style and phraseology of the above letter of Robert Glover vary considerably from what is given in the First Edition; but the editor has retained the copy here offered to the reader, as it corresponds with that extant in the Harleian MSS., and with later copies, the printing of which Foxe superintended. See the Harl. MSS. No. 416, art. 6; also "Letters of the Martyrs," Lond. 1837, p. 405.—Ed.

should so seem before men, as that he might first frame his life correspondent and worthy his profession before God. He saw and perceived, as indeed it was, the sum of Christianity not to consist in stout disputations, contentions, reasonings, loud clamours, strong definitions, and ambitious pertinacity of mind, but rather in ordering and subduing affections in the quiet and silent mind, in good conscience and devout prayer; and laboured ever to this end, not so much to brag and talk of the gospel, as to show the same by example of his life: and therefore he gave not daily diligence to the reading of the gospel only, to collect thereof, as many do, common places, but as well to be instructed, thereby, with good mind and conscience. He was a great student of divinity; the occasion whereof was not the desire of novelties, arguing and talking, or that he might seem the more learned to others, but that he himself might be the better for it; and also not so much to be the more instructed to the conflicts of idle contention, as to be the readier and meeter for the kingdom of Christ. To be short, he read the gospel of Christ, not so much to collect thereof any common places, as to gather necessary matter of edifying, whereof he daily sucked those things which no less made for the confirmation of his faith and godly life, than for the knowledge of Christ and his salvation. And doubtless, by this his assiduous labour he profited marvellously, as by the singular fruits and example of his life sufficiently is declared, whose mind was always upon our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his works; even so much, that he, contemning the world, and being all wholly possessed with the earnest zeal of godliness, was, in every place, as well abroad as at home, a lantern of godly living to all the rest; and also, being as one placed in heaven, and dead in this world, he both meditated and led a life altogether celestial; [it] being a world to see how that he abhorred the profane doings. No, nor yet his talk in any wise differed from his life, throwing out never any idle, vile, or vain language. The most part of his lands he distributed among his brethren, and committed the guide of the rest to his servants and officers, that the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath-rest.

And besides these his great number of virtues, he was well learned, although his brother Robert was better seen in the literature which doth polish and bring a man to eloquence. Yet in those things which appertained to heavenliness and good conscience, he was far more exercised: like disposition and mind were in both; having wit and memory most happily grafted in them. And as concerning good zeal and love towards religion, whereunto they seemed by nature indifferently to be borne, they were so matched and so like one to another, that a man could not tell who excelled the other; unless because Robert, as he was the bigger of stature, so he was a more earnest and mightier champion against the adversaries of the truth: but yet John less feared peril, although this Robert suffered as a martyr; and was as much desirous of martyrdom as he, and more too. And, verily I cannot tell whether, in this case of felicity, John gave place to his brother Robert or no, who also might be counted a martyr, yea, and chronicled for a double martyr; for the said Robert was quickly, and out of hand, dispatched with the sharp and extreme tor-

*Mary.*A.D.
1555.

Mary. ments of the fire. But this, the most blessed martyr of all, what
A. D. grievouser passions, boiling heats of the fire of hell, so many years
 1555. both in body and in soul he suffered and sustained, no tongue can
 ——— express.

Being a young man I myself was once or twice with him; whom, as part by his talk I perceived, and part by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses, was left in him. And, doubtless, I have greatly wondered at the marvellous works and operation of Christ showed upon him; who, unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched sheep, so many times in distress, with continual consolation, it could not be possible that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments; and yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight.

But this we see commonly among holy and blessed men, that the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspect and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are pinched and vexed with very small sins as most grievous, when that (contrary) you may see very many whom the greatest crimes of the world do not once move or trouble. The occasion of this was, that he, being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and then falling thence, as we commonly see, to his former trade of life, began to mistrust himself, as one that rashly and suddenly had forsaken his vocation and thereupon was in belief that he had sinned against the Holy Ghost.¹

But, thanks be to Christ our Lord, his continual keeper, who suffereth not any man to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that only they do not withstand them, but also oftentimes falleth out to a further commodity than is looked for; which thing did appear as much in this John, as ever did in any one, who albeit, as we have said, suffered so many years sharp temptations, yet more happy were they to him than tongue can tell, which heaped so many and great virtues in him, with reconciliation of his tranquillity, and so vanquished him from all worldly affections of the same; insomuch that nothing could be more blessed and pure than his life, nothing more quiet or more fervent to Christ and his ways. Nor truly was it any marvel if this his ardent and vehement zeal toward the gospel of Christ, in this turbulent time of persecution (as indeed it did not), either could, or did, lie hid in him.

What needeth many words? As soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John so to be spread out of hand, he wrote to the mayor and officers to apprehend him as soon as might be: but it chanced otherwise by God's holy providence, who disposeth all things according to his secret pleasure, and contrary to the expectation of man. And although this John took it more inwardly than any tongue can express, when he, being ever desirous of death, saw, in his stead, his brother to be carried to his death, yet doubtless it

(1) About nine lines are here omitted, as they are but a repetition of page 385, line 20—29. See Appendix.—E.D.

was provided by the singular grace and just providence of God; for he, seeing his old and trusty servant so many years, with so extreme and many torments, broken and dried up, would in no wise heap so many sorrows upon one poor sely wretch, neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been scorched and so consumed with the sharp sorrows of his mind, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan so many years. God of his divine providence thought this too much, whose custom was never so to deal with his servants; and therefore he provided that Robert, either for his learning-sake or soundness of his strength, should stoutly suffer and sustain this conflict; and although there lacked no stomach in the other to suffer martyrdom, yet our Lord thought rather to use this man's stomach and knowledge in refuting the adversaries' arguments, and so to be more expedient to the cause of his salvation. But, howsoever the matter stood, Robert was taken in the stead of John, and that not without the singular will and love of God to either of them; for as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters, he sent forthwith a private watchword to John, to convey away himself, who, with his brother William, was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet, in syght of the sheriff and others, the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment; whom when he could in no place be found, one of the officers, going up into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him brought before the sheriff. And although the sheriff, favouring Robert and his cause, would feign have dismissed him, saying that "he was not the man for whom they were sent," yet being feared with the stout words of the officer, contending with him about his staying while the bishop coming, [he] carried him away against his will, and laid him fast while the bishop came. And this so much concerning John: now will I return to Robert's letters, from whence I have made some digression.*

*Mary.**A. D.**1555.**See
Appendix.*

Robert Glover's Letter continued.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, master Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief jailer to carry me to the bishop.¹ I laid to master Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

*A lesson
for all
persecu-
tors.*

And so he parted from me, saying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes, if it be his will, and give him grace to believe this, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts: that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict the members of Christ for their conscience's sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered; without speedy repentance, shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain (as their right companion Epulo² did) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they hath condemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

When I came before the bishop in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, that he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit

(1) This bishop's name was Dr. Banes [or rather Ralph Bayne; he was elected bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, 1554, and was deprived in 1559.—Ed.]

(2) Luke xvi. [The rich glutton.—Ed.]

*Mary.**A. D.*

1555.

Glover
brought
before
Banes,
bishop of
Lichfield
and Co-
ventry.

myself. I said to him, "I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?" He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, "Smally learned." Master chancellor, standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts. Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to the church. Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither were any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding I answered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to show me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass. He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

Bishop:—"Who shall judge the word?"

Glover:—"Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul: methinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had."

The
bishop re-
fuseth to
be judged
by the
primitive
church.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him: but he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

"If you say black is white, my lord," quoth Glover, "must I also say as you say, and believe the same because you say it is so?" Master chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

Glover:—"If you will be believed because you be a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed master Latimer, master Ridley, master Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?"

Bishop:—"Because they were heretics."

"And may not you err," quoth I, "as well as they?" I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said, I dissented from the church, and asked me where my church was before king Edward's time?¹

I desired him to show me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward show it had in Christ's time.

Bishop:—"Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics."

Glover:—"You be not able to show any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time."

My lord making no answer to that, master Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would, at the end of his visitation of his diocese, weed out such wolves. Master Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. "Even where it pleaseth you," said I to my lord, "I am content;" and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again, from whence I came.

Glover
discour-
aged at
hearing
that he
should be
removed;
comfort-
ed again
with the
medita-
tion of the
Scripture.

On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow prisoners the same day to Lichfield, there to be bestowed at the bishop's pleasure; which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling (which I looked for), have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fantasy after this manner: "What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Lichfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Lichfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshech, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we

(1) "Where was the church before king Edward's time?" The bishop could not show where God's church was in Israel, nor where any prophet was in all Judah, in Elias's time.

have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground, without our heavenly Father's will ; much more will he care for us if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death ; neither before kings, nor before bishops, nor the devil himself : much less one of his ministers shall be able to prevail against us." With such like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good consolation and comfort ; so that, hearing one say that they could not provide horses enow for us, I said, " Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list ; I am well content, for my part."

*Mary.*A. D.
1555.Glover
waxeth
cheerful
again and
bold.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to master mayor, and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge : the contents of which letter were these.

A Letter of Master Robert Glover to the Mayor of Coventry and his Brethren.

I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the gaol, as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more ; so that it is not like that I shall be removed without peril and danger of my life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency ; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

Your prisoner in the Lord, always mindful of you in my poor prayer,
Robert Glover.

But I received no answers of my letters to nor fro. I conjectured that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me dispatched privily in prison, than to come openly to my answer. The manner of entreating and using me at my first coming to prison, did partly declare the same.

Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Lichfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at : and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in, and disannulling of, all such books as truly expound and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Lichfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose ourselves for our supper-time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

Glover
and his
fellow-
prisoners
removed
to Lich-
field in
the face
of the
open
market.

After supper Jephcot repaired to us, whom we entreated that upon sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, as he seemed ; but, afterwards, whether it was by persuasion, or rather (as it seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease ourselves withal, he revoked his promise ; and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy, that showed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand :—

Papists
keep no
promise.

He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building, and very cold, with small light ; and there allowed he me a bundle of straw, instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to ease myself withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that, if it had been his pleasure, I could have been contented to have ended my life : but Jephcot, and one Persey the bishop's man, which afterwards was

Jephcot
and Per-
sey cruel
and strait
against
Glover.

Mary.

my continual keeper for the most part, came to me in the morning, to whom I said, "This is a great extremity; God send us patience, and no more."

A. D.

1555.

Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, nor books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-book which I privily stole in.

Talk between Glover and the chancellor.

Within two days after, master chancellor, and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Master chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord, and to the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered master chancellor to his exhortation, that I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God.

He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church.

Glover:—"The church sheweth which is the word of God, therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning," said I to master chancellor, "for it is like unto this: John showed the people who was Christ; ergo, John was above Christ. Or else I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king: Am I therefore above the king?"¹

Master chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, and till the bishop's coming: in the which time I gave myself continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his Holy Spirit and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever. Amen.

The comforts and sweet feeling of Glover in prison.

Glover assaulted by the enemy in prison concerning un-worthiness.

The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, or his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, "similiter obnoxii peccato,"² as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest; as Paul saith, "Who gave first unto him?"³ And also speaking to every man, "What hast thou, that thou receivedst not?"⁴ Likewise John, "All have received of his fulness;"⁵ they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness.⁶ "Est Dominus omnium, dives in omnes et super omnes invocantes eum."⁷ He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. "Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum." God is near, he is at hand, he is with all; with all (I say), and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully, in true repentance, call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to burden God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and assistance in all our perils, dangers, and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wise and large manner, than he can well wish or dare

God's election bound to no worthiness or person.

It is no arrogancy to presume upon God's promise.

(1) The church giveth witness which be the true books and writings of the apostles: as also the old synagogue of the Jews doth witness which be the true books of the holy prophets: yet it followeth not thereby, that the Jews have authority over the Scripture.

(2) Acts xxiv.

(3) "Quis prior dedit illi." Rom. xi.

(4) Rom. iv.

(5) John i.

(6) Rom. x.

(7) Psalm cxlv

desire. His word cannot lie : " Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee ; and thou shalt praise me."

I answered the enemy also on this manner : I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of his truth. What then ? Must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it ? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin ? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel ? as Christ himself beareth witness, " He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I also will be ashamed before my Father and all his angels." I might also, by like reason, forbear to do any of God's commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray : and so in like manner of all the commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

At the bishop's first coming to Lichfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a bye-chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment : I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church (as he called it), it was not known, he said, but lately in king Edward's time.

I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner stone ;¹ and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning (said I) though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the cross and affliction, condemned, despised, and persecuted ; my lord, on the other side, contended that they were the church.

Glover :—" So cried all the clergy against the prophets at Jerusalem, saying,² ' The church, the church.' "

And always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, " Hold thy peace ; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace : " calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I willed my lord to burden me with some specialties, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church ?

" The sacrament of baptism," said I, " and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper."

" No more ? " said he.

Glover :—" To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence in the death of Christ—to such, ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins."

Here, interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that

Mary.

A. D.
1555.

Glover
replieth
against
the temp-
ter.

Glover
brought
again
before the
bishop.

Reason-
ing be-
tween
Glover
and the
bishop.

Power by
God's
word in
the mini-
stry, to re-
mit sin.

(1) The true church is always builded upon the doctrine of the apostles : which though it appear not always alike in outward sight, the fault is in the time, not in the church. Times do alter, and with the times the outward face of the church may alter, sometimes appearing more, sometimes less, sometimes very little, sometimes nothing at all, according as the persecution is. Nevertheless, the truth of the church abideth always one. Neither doth it go by number of men, but by soundness of truth. Many agreeing in one maketh a unity : but the verity of the word maketh the church, whether it be in few or in many.

(2) " Templum domini, templum domini."

Mary matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

A. D. He asked me further, Whether I allowed their confession? I answered, No.
1555. Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, "because," said I, "you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christ's body in the sacrament."

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and entreating in prison, and also of his conflicts had with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither yet could I get the records of his last examinations, wheresoever they are become.

Glover
destitute
for a time
of the
Lord's
comfort.

Only this, which I could learn by relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death, I can report, that the said blessed servant of the Lord, master Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpish, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness nor willingness, but rather a heaviness and dulness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon, fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Austen, his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him. Unto whom the said Austen, answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet, seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him,¹ and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) he was right certain and sure; and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should show some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same; and so departed from him.

Glover
receiveth
again
comfort of
the Lord.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys, that he cried out, clapping his hands to Austen, and saying in these words, "Austen, he is come, he is come," etc., and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as

(1) The Lord for a time may withdraw his comforts, but at length he visiteth his servants.

one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

*Mary.**A.D.**1555.*

Cornelius Bungey, Fellow Martyr with Master Robert Glover.

*See
Appendix.*

In the same fire with him was burned also Cornelius Bungey, a capper of Coventry, and condemned by the said Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

Articles objected to Cornelius Bungey.

First, It was articulate against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Lichfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

Secondly, That by baptism sins be not washed away; because he said, that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's supper.

Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar, was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, etc.

Fifthly, That he, within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, etc.

Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, etc.

Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, etc.

His Answers to the Articles.

Unto the which articles he answered again: to the first he granted, and to every part thereof; meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

To the second he granted first, and afterwards revoked the same.

To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the pope likewise.

Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh.

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph the bishop read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of master Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this foresaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the christian martyr master Robert Glover at Coventry, about the 20th day of September.

Here followeth the Story how John Glover and William Glover

WERE EXCOMMUNICATE AND CAST OUT AFTER THEIR DEATH,
AND BURIED IN THE FIELDS.

Now that we have discoursed the story of master Robert Glover, something also would be touched of his other two brethren, John and William Glover; who, albeit they were not called to finish their

Mary. course by like kind of martyrdom in the fire, as the others did, yet,
A. D. because for their constant profession of God's gospel unto the latter
1555. end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same
See church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in
Appendix. the story to be joined together, who, in one cause and the same profession, were not sundered one from the other.

And first concerning master John Glover the eldest brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described: now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remaineth to be declared; whose rage and malice, although God so restrained that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet, after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand.

After the martyrdom of master Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart wherewith he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, showing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but should do his brother no good: he thus in great care and vexation endured, yet, notwithstanding, rubbing out as well as he could, till at length, about the latter end of queen Mary, there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

A new search made for John Glover.

Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under-officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into his house where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in his chamber by himself, the officers, brusting into the house and searching other rooms, came to the chamber-door where this John Glover was, who, being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers busking about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers, having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

The providence of God again in saving him; his wife apprehended.

In the mean time another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew), bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they, departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover his wife, who, being had to Lichfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover, in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague, whereupon, not long after, he left his life, which the cruel papists so long had sought for.

Dr. Dracot would not suffer him to be buried in the church-yard.

Thus, by the mighty protection of the Almighty Lord, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befel after his death, both to him and William his brother, it is not unworthy to be remembered; who, after that he was dead and buried in the churchyard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after, sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried. The parson answered that he was then sick, and knew not of it. Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway: the parson again answered that he had been six weeks in

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 01145 8264

